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This is to certify that Mrs. Rashida Rana Siddiqi has pursued her Ph.D. work on the problem of "SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF STUDENT UNREST IN INDIA" under my supervision. Her data are original and she has treated the material scientifically and objectively.

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THESIS SECTION



SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF STUDENT UNREST IN INDIA

(ABSTRACT)

**THESIS
SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
SOCIOLOGY**

**BY
(Mrs.) Rashida Rana Siddiqi**

**UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
Dr. M. M. SIDDIQI**

M. A., Ph. D. (Sociology)

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**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
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ABSTRACT

"SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF STUDENT UNREST IN INDIA"

The problem of student unrest has assumed considerable importance in recent years. University after university has faced the problem of student unrest. The wave of student unrest has become a source of deep concern, because it no longer represents merely youthful exuberance but has taken destructive and violent turn. The present study is based on the theme that much of the student unrest is the reflection of the social environment in which the students live.

Student unrest is not merely an educational problem, though it is closely linked with the growth of higher education in India. Students are an integral part of any society. As a body they represent a younger and emerging stratum of society. Hence they cannot be viewed in isolation. What they think and how they behave reflect the prevailing conditions in the society.

A study of the phenomenon of student unrest would, therefore, require a thorough analysis of political,

economic, socio-cultural and educational factors. The present study aims at examining the impact of these factors and demonstrates empirically the nexus between these factors and student unrest.

Students have appeared into the world of politics with a certain suddenness. They are today, a new social force of incalculable significance. Numerous studies both in the developed and undeveloped countries have demonstrated the part students have played in radical movements and political upheavals. India, dramatically, illustrates the political role of students in the developing nations. Students have played a leading part in the freedom struggle. But it is sometimes argued that a significant feature of the present day student unrest is that it has lost ideological basis. The students no longer seek long term goals and radical reforms but are mainly concerned with correction of specific grievances. Numerous studies and articles in recent years have blamed political parties and politicians for growing unrest among students. The degree of politicisation of students and the student unions varies from place to place. It would be rewarding to examine the extent to which politicisation of the students affects their restive behaviour.

Economic pressures during student life help to determine the scope and intensity of student action. The underlying assumption is that economic deprivations develop stresses and strains of which unrest is but the symptom. The intensity of economic struggle is enhanced by a permanent feeling of financial insecurity. The prospect that await the students at the end of their studies are dark and gloomy. The situation becomes even worse when the expectations raised by university education remain unfulfilled. The general unemployment in the country may thus be a factor to reckon with.

Caste and religious identities are inhibiting factor in student unrest. Breaking away from religious beliefs and practices may change a student's traditional control over his behaviour. The impact of western education and concept of individualism have fostered questioning attitude among young people. This has made them more liberal in their attitudes. Unlike, older generation, the value and beliefs of younger are in a state of flux. Family system in India is undergoing tremendous changes consequent upon the process of industrialization and urbanization. Social conformity and adherence to traditional, social and religious ideas are on the wane. Decreasing control of parents, new concept of equality and the economic

pressures have weakened and crumbled the family bonds. Authoritarian atmosphere though still prevalent in some families is replaced by more congenial and free atmosphere. Students now have more progressive attitudes than their parents regarding style of life, friendship with opposite sex, mode of dresses, recreation etc. Thus intergenerational conflict is latent at family level. The conflict between traditional value system and modernity affects student's attitude. They feel closer to their peer groups than their family. A consequence of this conflict is the development of antiauthority attitude. Conflict with parents may be a frustrating experience and may find an expression in campus demonstrations and strikes. Mass education has opened the door of education to a larger segment of society. Children from families who were previously deprived of the benefit of education are more drawn to universities and colleges. Students from every strata of a heterogeneous society (urban, rural and tribal) come to the universities. Many new entrants to college life are children of illiterate or poorly educated parents. The gap between these students and their parents is quite wide. The first generation learners find it difficult to adjust to new demands and values of the society unlike those who have had advantage of generations of education. The rural students find it difficult to integrate themselves into the ethos of urban life. The

troubled sociological background structurally conducive to tensions often operates as a barrier to a student's assimilation into the corporate life of the university. The situation aggravates when the campus environment instead of lessening their difficulties further complicates their problems.

There has been a tremendous quantitative expansion of education both in terms of student enrolment and the number of institutions. This unplanned and uncontrolled expansion of higher education has led to a deterioration both in the quality of the teachers and the teaching facilities. Academic correspondence between teachers and students is lacking in many institutions. Authoritarian regime of the educational institutions has failed to nurture creative thinking among the students. Inadequacies of the examination and evaluation and the poor student amenities have added to growing stresses and strains among the students. Students assert that they are not merely an anonymous mass but they have an individuality. They want to assert more and more their right to participate in the administration of the university and want to become equal partners in the decision-making process.

These social situations prompted us to formulate various null hypotheses on such sociological variables as: political involvement; union activities; economic status of the family; fulfilment of ambition by education; religious/linguistic identity; religious observance; religious atmosphere in the home; household structure; participation in the family decision-making; conflict with parents; docile behaviour at home; parents' level of education; rural background; academic evaluations; total internal assessment; semester system; satisfaction with hostel life and hostel amenities; authoritarian attitude of administration; regular study habits; courses of studies; adolescence; duration of stay at university and student participation in university affairs.

II

The data for the present study was secured from the Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. Admittedly, no single university can present a true picture of the nation in its entirety, but there are several advantages to limiting the study to a single institution. Each institution has a history of its own and has its special values and traditions. Identical studies of single institution undertaken in

different parts of the country will lead to generalisations to explain the phenomenon of student unrest. We have, therefore, interpreted our data in the light of studies conducted elsewhere to give cohesive overall picture of the problem.

Aligarh Muslim University, is a residential university which was established in 1920. It is one of the central universities of India and is almost entirely financed by the Government of India. At the time of data collection there were 10,223 students on the rolls of the university. A five percent sample was planned. In view of the residential character of the university the sample was drawn from various Halls of residence. Systematic random sampling was used for data collection; the first student from each Hall was selected randomly and then every fifteenth student on the rolls was included in the sample.

The primary measurement instrument was a detailed questionnaire which was prepared after a fairly extensive review of the relevant literature on sociology in general and student problem in particular. The questionnaire included closed ended questions with three

or two scale responses in order to facilitate quantitative analysis.

For establishing statistical correlation between specified sociological variables and the restive behaviour of the students, a resting scale was constructed. Questions eliciting information regarding attitude towards participation in strikes formed the items of the scale. The validity of the items was established by the internal criteria method which yielded a six point scale. The reliability coefficient of this scale was found quite high. A tentative S.D. norm was found out to classify restive and nonrestive students from the sample. Out of a sample of 518 students, 74 were identified as restive and 69 as nonrestive students.

The testing of the hypotheses was done by using standard two-tailed chi-squared tests. The method used, enabled us to find out the degree of association between restive behaviour and the sociological variables.

III

The work is divided into five chapters. It also contains five appendices, fifteen tables, twenty five tabulations in appendix-V and bibliography.

Chapter 1 describes the nature of the problem, the underlying assumption of the present study, and the specific hypotheses on social dimensions of student unrest. Chapter 2 deals with various theories which seek to provide explanation for the student unrest. Chapter 3 describes method and procedure that have been employed for quantitative analysis of the data. Chapter 4 reports the results of the null hypotheses. It demonstrates the correlation of various political, economic, social and educational variables to student unrest. Chapter 5 deals with the interpretation of the results and inferences drawn from the empirical study. While interpreting the results of the present study comparisons have been made with the studies conducted in other parts of India with a view to present an over-all picture of the problem. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section deals with political factors; second section examines economic factors contributing to student unrest; third section accounts for the social forces and pressures which impinge upon the life of student directly or indirectly and demonstrates the relevance of sociological back ground of a student to his restive behaviour, and, fourth section is devoted to the consideration of some of the most crucial areas of the educational environment bearing on the students' behaviour.



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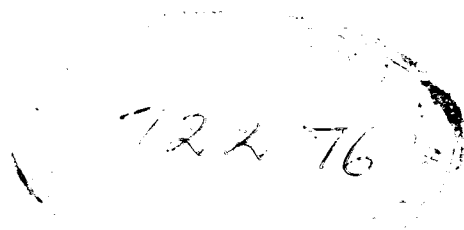
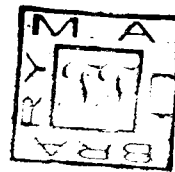
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The present study was planned under the guidance of Prof. R.N. Saxena, the then Head of the Department of Sociology, A.M.U., Aligarh. His interest in the preparation of research design has been stimulating and constructive. My deepest thanks go to him for initiating me into the present work. As the study progressed, Dr. Hasan Askari took over as the Head of the Department of Sociology. His help was available to me throughout the period he stayed at Aligarh. His help and assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

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(Mrs.) Rashida Rana Siddiqi

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CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION

Strikes, agitations, bandha, gheraos, and closure of universities have become a common feature of the educational institutions of contemporary India. These are various manifestations of student unrest. This phenomenon is not limited to any particular area but has swept the length and breadth of the country. University after university has faced the problem of student agitations. The wave of student unrest has become a source of deep concern, because it no longer represents merely youthful exuberance but has taken destructive and violent turn as is demonstrated by frequent burning and hijacking of buses, destruction of public property, attacks on police personnel, gheraos of vice-chancellors, assaults on invigilators, destruction of university buildings, resulting in serious disruptions of civic life. The capacity of students to launch an agitation and often dislocate the community life brings home the fact that the students are emerging as a power base in contemporary India. Agitations and strikes have become part of the present day national life and are not the sole province of the student community. However the enormity of student agitations is perceived by the simple fact that the incidents of student agitations within and without campuses surpass agitations by other groups in any given year.

The frequency and intensity of incidents have led to deep concern among the educationists, social scientists, legislators, and government administrators alike. A number of surveys and studies have been undertaken to investigate the causes of unrest among the students. These studies indicate a variety of causes of student unrest, chief among these being: exploitation of students by politicians for their partisan goals, crisis of values due to generation-gap, economic conditions of present day India, enormous expansion of education facilities and the resultant failure of the educational system. Putting together these causes, social scientists generally trace the roots of the student unrest in the sociological background of the student. A common feature of most of these analyses is that certain social situations operate as causative factors to the resultant agitational behaviour of students.

Students are an integral part of any society. As a body they represent a younger and emerging stratum of society. Hence they cannot be viewed in isolation. What they think and how they behave reflect the prevailing conditions in the society. The student problem and the perspectives of student unrest are intimately related to the social conditions under which students live. The phenomenon of student unrest cannot be studied unless political,

economic, cultural, sociological and educational factors are properly understood and accounted for. The present study is an attempt to examine the impact of these factors and demonstrate empirically the nexus between these factors and the student unrest.

Students have appeared into the world of politics with a certain suddenness. 'They are, today, a new social force of incalculable significance'¹. Students in different countries vary in their degree of political involvement. Indonesia, Japan, India and many Latin American countries can be cited by way of example where students' political involvement has been most forceful and effective.² In Hungary, Pakistan, Korea and many other developing countries, student unrest has been closely connected with either political instability inside the country or with the threat of external aggression.³ In many countries, students have been in the vanguard of anti-government movement. They have been responsible for toppling governments. The list of governments which fell due to student unrest includes Venezuela (1958), Japan (1960), South Korea (1960), Turkey (1960), South Vietnam (1960), Bolivia (1964), Sudan (1964),⁴ and Indonesia. In Iran, students have played a notable role in deposing the Shah in 1979; they are strongly

identified with the Khomieni regime. By holding the staff of the American embassy in Tehran as hostages, they have stirred up an international crisis. Students in Greece have played a decisive role in bringing in a change of the government. African students have generally been strong advocates of Pan- African Unity. However, the students' movement in the West has taken a different form than that of the developing countries. Students in the Western countries have generally revolted against the Establishment. In the United States, the Free Speech movement at Berkeley in 1964 was the first demonstration of its kind leading to recognition of student power. Student radicalism has since emerged as a significant force. Students have played a dominant role in the Ban-Bomb movement, Anti-Vietnam agitations, and Civil Rights movement. In the United Kingdom students have spear-headed the Leftist movement. In France, students have been responsible for major changes in government policies. One can go on adding to the list^{of} instances where students have played a critical role in the political process of a nation in recent years.

India, dramatically, illustrates the political role of students in the developing nations. Their involvement in the political upheaval of the pre-independence era, particularly in the Civil Disobedience of the 1920's and

the Quit India movement of 1942, demonstrates their capacity to fight for political freedom. The 1942 struggle was the apex of the student movement in India involving, for the first time, a majority of the students. They were the active participants in various strikes and demonstrations and took part in sabotage activities which harassed the British authorities.⁵ The growth of militant student movement in the pre-independence period can be attributed to the revolutionary atmosphere created by the national freedom movement. The student community was small and compact at the time and was, therefore, relatively easy to organise. Respected national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru not only sought the support of the students but encouraged the students to take active part in the political struggle. As Shils (1968) points out, "there was a cause- the disruption and destruction of the authority of the British Raj".⁶ After independence the student movement lost its raison d'être. The attitude of the government and educational authorities changed; what had been patriotic duty became "student indiscipline".⁷ In the post-independence period the student movement has changed the campus life. The hostility which was directed against the foreign rule now found expression in anti-authority attitude towards the government and university administrators. It is sometimes argued that a significant

feature of the present day student agitations is that students no longer seek long-term goals and radical reforms but are mainly concerned with correction of specific grievances. This argument, notwithstanding, the students have contributed to political upheaval in different parts of the country. Some of their movements have been so powerful and effective that the governments have been forced to change their policies. An example of a cohesive student movement may be found in the agitations in the South connected with the language policy of the sixties. The students of Tamil Nadu supported Dravida Munetra Kazhagam (DMK) in two elections. The Maharashtrian students were involved in Samyukta Maharashtra agitation in the 1950's, while in 1972, the Andhra students actively backed the separate Telingana agitation. In Orissa in 1964 and Gujrat in 1974, the students forced the chief ministers to resign. In Bihar during 1975, the students left their colleges and universities to join the Total Revolution movement of Jaya Prakash Narayan. In 1980, we see the All Assam Student Union in the forefront of the Foreign National issue, disrupting public life completely. These examples demonstrate that many of the student movements are not without causes. However, a majority of student agitations, as DiBona (1966) rightly points out are not caused by ideological

politics but by local grievances concerning college fees, examinations, faculty matters, and amenities.¹⁰ The nature and content of the campus agitations have led Shils (1968) to observe that the student hostility towards authority has ceased generally to bear political objective and has become sporadic, episodic, and more violent than it was earlier.¹¹

Politics seems to have affected the students in two ways, directly and indirectly. There is politicisation of the student body by party politicians; many political parties have been able to politicise a number of Indian universities. Indirectly, the political atmosphere of the country has worked against restraint and prudence among the students. A brief explanation of both the direct and indirect influences of party politics on the student body would be in order.

Many political parties have found it convenient to establish links with the student body. They have established their youth wings among the students. The oldest of the student political organisations in India is the All-India Students' Federation (AISP). This organisation has been in existence since 1936 and is under the control of the Communist Party of India (C.P.I.) The AISP has a strong hold on the students of Kerala, West Bengal and Andhra. The right wing political parties also have their student wings

Jan Sangh's student wing is known as Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad; Yuva Janata is the students wing of Janata and Lok Dal. Youth Congress and National Students Union of India are the counter-parts of the Congress party. The Congress student wings and the Jan Sangh student wing along with the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh (R.S.S.) have acquired important place in some universities of Uttar Pradesh. In West Bengal, in the sixties the radical students started the Naxalite movement and served as the mouth-piece of the Marxist C.P.I.(M). They kept the universities in a state of turmoil for quite a long period. The political activities among the university students are generally centered round the students' union. Gommen (1970) points out that most of the students' union in recent years have tended to function like trade unions presuming that students' interest conflict with those of the teachers and authorities. He remarks that the student politics in India is not the politics of principle or ideology but rather the politics of factions and conflicts between personalities; "students' unions usually lead student agitations and get involved in violence".¹² In some universities the students' union have assumed political importance because of the support accorded to them by political parties. In many universities political parties even compete in union elections through their youth organizations.¹³

In some places the politicians have established colleges to acquire a team of dedicated students to work for their partisan ends. The opposition parties often lend their support to student agitations and sometimes incite them to such an extent that their zeal cannot be controlled without deployment of force, thus in turn aggravating the situation.

The contemporary political conditions also have their impact on the campus life. There is a growing scepticism about capabilities of men in authority to solve the student problem. Strike and unrest are overt manifestations of inner feelings of dissatisfaction of students in the way the politicians, particularly those in power, run the country. False election promises, politics of toppling governments, factional politics in the parties, practice of defection, and poor performance of the leaders create a political atmosphere in which the student finds himself bewildered and frustrated. The students note that the persons who have assumed authority have devised a political system in which education has been given no locus-standi.¹⁴ Dissatisfaction with performance of those who are at the helm of affairs often produces a rebellious attitude among the students. Examples of such student Revolts can be seen in ^{the} Language Agitation of the South, the Foreign National issue in Assam, and the Minority Status issue of the Aligarh Muslim University.

The political involvement in the Indian education system has received notice by a number of educationists,¹⁵ ¹⁶ journalists, and social scientists.¹⁷ Studies have demonstrated that the entire student community is not politicised. In fact, many students look at politicians with distrust. The extent to which politicisation of students has taken place varies from region to region and from university to university.

The growing economic difficulties faced by the people of India have made the student community quite concerned about their own future prospects. In spite of industrial and economic development that has taken place under various five-year plans, the general economic stress has been on the increase. The scarcity of resources and growth of population have made the situation more tense. Forty six percent of the population living below the poverty line in India constitutes a predominantly deprived population of an immense ¹⁸ size. This situation has made the problems of students acute. According to Kabir (1958), the glaring economic and social disparities affect (the student) as powerfully as they ¹⁹ do various other sections of society.

With the rapid increase in the number of educated youth, employment has become scarce. According to the annual report 1970-71 of the Department of Labour and Employment the number of educated applicants on the live register of employment exchanges was 2.296 million at the end of December

1971 as against 1.822 million in previous year. Of them 1.296 million matriculates, 605,000 were undergraduates²⁰ and 394,000 were graduates and post-graduates. The 1971 census show that 579,858 persons with a first degree in science, agriculture, arts and commerce or atleast a diploma in Engineering or Medicine are estimated to be unemployed in April 1971. These persons constituted 20 percent or about one fifth of the estimated total stock in these categories. Nearly 39,923 scientific and technical personnel with high qualifications (post-graduates in science, graduates²¹ in Engineering and Medicine) were seeking employment in 1971.

A significant feature of this problem is that a larger number of educated unemployed persons come from rural areas and from income and caste levels below those common in the past. Such persons aspire for urban jobs which the present economic situation fails to provide. This, in turn, poses for them a threat of having to return to villages. Commenting on this situation, Gasfield (1969) notes that "the despair that so marked the Indian contemporary students need to be understood in greater depth than simply in terms of educated unemployment. To be sure, the expansion of higher education without a similar expansion of jobs of college status does indeed encourage a general sense of pessimism²² about the future." Similar views have been expressed by

Ross (1969) who remarks that when the problem of employment is added to the middle class ambitions, they produce²³ the major anxieties which the male students face. The existence of a large number of these jobless youngmen is not only a sad commentary on the economic growth but also on the relevance of contemporary educational system.

Very few systematic studies have been undertaken to correlate the socio-economic background of the students, their future aspirations, and apprehensions with their rebellious activities. Nor are there many studies which analyse the wider socio-economic context of the university students. It is only recently that a few studies dealing with the socio-economic aspect of the student community have begun to appear.²⁴ Researches in this direction will be valuable indeed.

The rapidly changing social order has altered many institutions of the society. Despite emphasis on egalitarian society, socio-economic disparities have increased. Such disparities have affected the emotional needs, beliefs,²⁵ attitudes, and value patterns of the student. The problem of student unrest has to be studied in the light of general social environment of the country.

Social change has been accelerated by scientific and technological advances at the global level. Notable

changes have occurred throughout the world, particularly after the Second World War. Concepts, images, and symbols of culture have undergone ceaseless, ever-quicker transformation. Old values have been discarded. New patterns of behaviour are emerging. The emerging generation has reached the adulthood through a different mental universe. The gap between the new generation and its predecessors is constantly widening. Such generational gaps have always existed in the past but today this gap moves faster. In India, the Western ideology, Western type of education, and Western form of government are affecting every institution of society. With the rapid industrial development and urbanization, Indian family system is gradually altering. Away from their homes and hearth, people have changed. The moral restraint that remained intact for ages has been discarded. The trend from tradition to modernity is evident. Religion, to a large extent, has lost its traditional social control. Caste system in the modern India has brought new problems in the form of caste rivalries and often serious caste riots. In such an environment the youth seems to oscillate between the high idealistic ambitions and the unsavoury realities of society. Breaking away from family bonds and religious belief and practices, students appear to have liberated themselves from the traditional control over their behaviour. Family ties appear to be superseded by friendship bonds. Accompanying these changes are stresses and anxieties.

Cornack (1961) has studied the problem of student unrest in the light of social disintegration taking place in India. She postulates that much of the problem of student indiscipline is related to the arrival of adolescence in modern India.²⁷ There seems to be erosion of authority of traditional social agencies, especially among rural youth who are drawn in large numbers to urban universities. To majority of the rural youth, the university life is a new experience. Liberal and free atmosphere that prevails in the university is in sharp contrast to the family environment of many a student. Their integration in the urban ethos is slower. The problem of adjustment to the campus life is more acute in students from families with no previous traditions of education. Sometimes, false hopes generated in their minds make them more restless and discontented. The average Indian student is neither traditionalist nor rebellious. Political, economic, and social situations in which he finds himself makes him a frustrated nihilist.²⁸

Many situations of the student indiscipline are a by-product of the educational setting that serves as the stage on which the drama of student unrest is mostly performed. The enormous increase in the number of educational institutions in the post-independence period, without taking into

consideration the socio-economic needs of the local communities, has created many problems. There has been a tremendous quantitative expansion of education both in terms of student enrolment and the number of institutions. The enrolment in universities and colleges has increased eight-fold. The number of universities has increased from 20 to 108 and the number of arts, science and commerce colleges has increased from 400 to 3,362.²⁹ This quantitative expansion has accentuated the problem of educated unemployed, especially in the area of humanities and social sciences.³⁰

University education, which during the British time was limited to the elite class, has to face the enormous mass of the student community drawn from every stratum of society. The British pattern of education in the modern India seems to be irrelevant. It was grafted arbitrarily on the Indian culture. It did not develop as natural expression of Indian life. Commenting on the educational system, Altbach (1968) observes: "Education System itself is a cause of deep frustration for many students, professors and other associated with the universities. The status of university teaching has also declined since independence. And traditional respect for the 'guru' has virtually disappeared."³¹

The education system is not very much research-oriented and fails to develop scholarly attitudes among the students. The function of the university education is no longer considered to be the development of their character by the students. The emphasis is on job opportunities, more particularly in government and semi-government organisations. The whole purpose of higher education has been altering gradually, so that a degree is regarded as
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a normal channel to careers.

There has been a deterioration in the quality of the teachers and their teaching methods. Classes are overcrowded. There is no academic correspondence between the teacher and the anonymous mass of the students in class rooms. Library and laboratory facilities are extremely meagre. Added to this are petty politics among the teaching staff. Caste, religious, and regional affinities among teachers have led to group infighting. In such a situation, the student has lost faith in his teachers, and often looks them with mistrust. Teachers are not responsive to the needs of the students. The result has been a growing gap in understanding between teachers and students.

The system of evaluating the academic abilities is the traditional system of annual examinations. Following

the British tradition, the universities administer externally prepared examinations. The system has come under increasing criticism from educationists, but it continues to operate and has been one of the main causes of student indiscipline. The youth does not like the authoritarian atmosphere of the university and the hostel life. He wants to assert more and more his right to participate in the administration of the university and wants to become an equal partner in the decision-making process.

Scope of the study

From the foregoing discussion it emerges that the problem of student unrest is closely linked with political, economic, socio-cultural, psychological and educational factors. There are few studies which have attempted the problem from a multi-dimensional angle. The present study aims at a systematic analysis of various social dimensions in relation to the problem of student unrest. The study has been designed to correlate empirically the social variables with the restive behaviour of the students. The data for the study has been drawn from a sample of students of the Aligarh Muslim University. However the results of the study have been interpreted in the light of studies conducted in other parts of the country to give a cohesive picture of the problem on an all India basis.

Explanation of the term 'unrest'

It would be appropriate at this point to clarify the conceptual frame of reference of the term "unrest". In sociological literature the term "unrest" as such has not been defined. Its current use in the context of student behaviour, is synonymous with student agitation, student movement, student demonstration, student revolt, student activism, and so on. Altbach (1968) makes no difference between student indiscipline and student unrest. He points out that the term "indiscipline" has been variously defined and is often used to describe any student action which does not meet the approval of government or educational officials.³³ Ross (1968) , however, makes a difference between formal and informal indiscipline. Individual acts of students are informal indiscipline to her, and formal indiscipline is an organised student activity which she³⁴ describes as student unrest. Shaw (1968) makes a clear distinction between indiscipline and unrest. Indiscipline, according to him is a pejorative term which should be employed to describe only those actions not accepted as legitimate. "Discontent" and "unrest", according to Shaw, are descriptive terms which are used to denote the atmosphere existing in most student communities in India. Indiscipline is a symptom of discontent; it is in no way synonymous with it.³⁵ According to the dictionary meaning, unrest denotes 'disturbed

conditions'. Sociologically speaking, unrest is a state of wide-spread discontentment on account of several social factors. Unrest thus refers to a state of mind rather than the behaviour itself. But in the current literature on student problem, student unrest is described as a behaviour which is not only objectionable but often highly dangerous and damaging to the societal interests. We have, therefore, followed the current practice to use the term unrest in the context of agitational behaviour of students in an organized capacity.

Hypotheses

In the light of the various studies on student unrest, we have formulated the following tentative null hypotheses which we plan to test statistically; the associated sociological variables are listed within parentheses:

1. Involvement in party politics^{by} the student is not a factor effecting the present malaise of student unrest. (political involvement)
2. Union activities do not encourage student unrest. (union activities)
3. The economic status of a student's family is not a contributing factor to the student unrest. (economic status of the family)

4. The fulfilment of a students' aspirations by his present education does not effect his restive behaviour. (fulfilment of ambition by education)
5. A student's restive or non restive behaviour is independent of the fact that he is a Muslim or not; also it is independent whether he is from a Hindi-speaking region or not. (religious identity; linguistic identity)
6. Regular observance of religious duties and practices by students do not effect their agitational behaviour. (religious observance)
7. Students coming from homes with a strict religious atmosphere do not get involved in agitations. (strict religious atmosphere in the home)
8. Whether a student comes from a single family or not has no effect on student unrest. (household structure)
9. Participation in family decision-making by student does not effect student unrest. (participation in family decision making)
10. Conflicts with parents do not contribute to a student's restive behaviour. (conflict with parents)
11. Docile behaviour in the family does not take an aggressive form in the institutional setting. (docile behaviour at home)

12. Parents' education is not a factor contributing to student unrest. (parents' education)
13. A students' rural background is not a factor in student unrest. (rural background)
14. The distance between students and teachers as perceived by students does not lead to discontent and unrest. (distance between students and teachers)
15. The current academic evaluations including examinations are factors not effecting student unrest. (academic evaluations)
16. Total internal assessment of examinations would not contribute to student activism. (total internal academic assessment)
17. Semester system is not ^{one} of the factors for unrest among the students. (semester system)
18. Satisfaction with hostel life is not a factor in a students' restive behaviour. (satisfaction with hostel life)
19. Satisfaction with hostel amenities is not a factor in student activism. (satisfaction with hostel amenities)
20. Authoritarian attitude of hall and university administration is not a factor in student unrest. (authoritarian attitude of administration)

21. Regular study habits do not effect student activism. (regular study habits)
22. Discipline (sciences and non-sciences) is not a factor in student unrest. (discipline: sciences and non-sciences)
23. Adolescence does not effect student activism. (adolescence)
24. Students with average duration of stay in universities are not prone to participate in agitations. (duration of stay at university)
25. Student participation in the university affairs is not a factor in student activism (student participation in university affairs)

The present study is divided into five chapters, of which the first introduces the manifold social dimensions of the student unrest. Chapter 2 is devoted to the consideration of theoretical bases of the present study incorporating in it all such theory and assumptions which help us in understanding the sociological aspect of the problem. Chapter 3 deals with the method of investigation and the tools employed to measure the extent of unrest among the

students. Chapter 4 analyses various hypotheses laid down in Chapter 1. Chapter 5 gives discussions, interpretations of and conclusions from the results of the present study. In order to give a cohesive picture of the problem at hand, Chapter 5 is divided into four sections, each dealing with various social dimensions of student unrest.

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CHAPTER - 2

THEORETICAL BASES OF THE STUDY

The Indian universities seem to be plagued by the problem of student unrest. This phenomenon is not peculiar to India; many universities of developed as well as under-developed countries are witnessing the emergence of militant student movement. Divergent views have been expressed and various theories propounded in recent years in order to explain the student unrest problem. Both the unitary theories within the framework of classical social theory and multiple explanations of student unrest have been advanced. This chapter will look into various theories which seek to provide explanation for the student unrest; emphasis is given to theories relevant in the Indian context.

Classical theories

Two theories have been suggested to account for the militancy of the students within the framework of classical social theory.

According to the first theory, universities and colleges are no longer concerned with transmission of cultural heritage but are fast becoming a central element of forces of production. This is truer in advanced capitalist as well as socialist societies. A powerful defence of this theory is found in the writings of French

Sociologist, Alain Touraine (1968). He maintains that the university occupies the same place as the capitalist enterprise formally did in the preceding "industrial society" and that just as the accumulation of capital was the motor of the former society so the knowledge and the technical progress are the motors of new society. He rhetorically asks, "Is not the student movement, in principle atleast, of the same importance as the labour movement of the past?"¹ This theory views students as the new proletariat and speaks of an inherent and permanent conflict between the student and teacher just as capital and labour are in structural conflict.

This interpretation may initially seem to have some merit but a deeper analysis discloses many cracks in it. Jones (1969) rejects this theory as scientifically incorrect and politically reactionary.² He puts forward a number of arguments against this theory. In fact, there is no evidence to support the notion that the motor of bourgeois society has changed from accumulation of capital to knowledge and technical progress. The analogy of a capitalist class and a propertyless proletariat class with a managerial technocratic teaching staff and the state and a student body suffers from two major confusions. First, students unlike workers do not constitute a class. The situation of

working class is always transient. It is not a life situation and their social destination may be either into professional groups or else into the managerial technocratic class itself.³

The second basic error of this theory lies in the profound differences of political and economic power enjoyed by the capitalists in the nineteenth century and the university staff in the twentieth century. In the first case, power over factory production was translated into political and economic power over the institution of the state, while in the other case power to make political and economic decisions is dictated from outside the university by the state apparatus which reflects the dominant class not university professors but the owners of capital.⁴

The second classical theory which is diametrically opposed to the first, postulates, students as a traditional elite group, overwhelmingly bourgeois or petit bourgeois by recruitment and outlook and, therefore, ultimately a trivial or reactionary force.⁵ Students either in the West or in the East cannot be identified with the capitalist or working class. They are a distinct social group which has produced distinct form of struggle. To regard them as adolescent members of the ruling class, according to Jones (1967), is a nostalgic self-deception.

Both the theories rely on a unilateral economic determinism ignoring the complex position which the students occupy within the industrial structure and the politico-cultural system.

The nature of the problem is such that it can hardly fit into any of the classical social theory. Student insurgency, rebellion, revolt, ferment, or unrest is relative in terms of time, place, and social situation. No single unitary theory can vouch for the phenomenon of student unrest. There appears to be several forces which combine together, generating the structure of student activism. The discussion that follows describes various theoretical bases suggested as possible explanations for student unrest.

Students: a political force

The insurgency of the students directed against the government in authority in different parts of the world demonstrates the awakening among the students against the social order perpetuated by the government in power. Colonialism, imperialism, cold-war and economic exploitation by neo-imperialism have given political substance to the student movement. The structure of the political power and the political system in different parts of the world are so varied that it is impossible to give an overall explanation

of student participation in political upheaval. However, no analysis of the Indian student movement would be complete unless a reference is made to their role in the Indian freedom movement. But in contemporary India the structure of student unrest has changed. Students have been reduced by politicians to trouble-makers for their (politicians') partison ends. Weiner (1963) theorises that students are lined up by politicians as a special pressure group.⁶ As a pressure group they have been used by politicians and sometimes even by some disgruntled teachers.

Altbach (1971) gives an analysis of student activism in developed and developing countries alike with the objective of finding out some coherence and perspective to the problem of the Indian student. He believes that students are a crucial political force in many countries. Several characteristics inherent in the condition of students point to their being recognised as agents of change. Students are a homogeneous community; they are relatively independent and are in an environment that encourages an awareness of issues and ideas. Within these parameters, Altbach (1971) finds that the German students are generally more politically aware than their counterparts elsewhere, that the French are traditionally aloof from organized student bodies, that the Dutch are politically flexible, the Americans are recent

arrivals on the scene, the Indians are manipulated by political parties, and the English are slow to ignite.⁷

Sninde (1972) also highlights the importance of political involvement and holds the view that the students are at the root of almost every political trouble. He concludes that "though they behave in a most irresponsible manner, they have become a force".⁸

Gusfield (1963) mentions politicisation of students as the main cause of student unrest.⁹

Srivastava (1974) has emphasized the political involvement of students and the interference of political parties in students' affairs as the main cause of indisciplined behaviour.¹⁰

According to Sakin (1972), most of the human beings are not political animals and are not highly involved in political and governmental affairs. He maintains that the political environment in the family is especially important in determining the involvement of students in public affairs and politics. The findings in India and other democratic countries show that no where do large numbers of individuals get actually involved with party activities. A majority of the students are opposed to protests and demonstrations as a form of political behaviour.¹¹

Other social scientists, notably Cormack (1961),¹²
DiBona (1966),¹³ and Ross (1969)¹⁴ have also accepted the
importance of political factor for the unrest among students.
But they do not accept it as the only factor responsible
for the turbulence among students. The Indian example
particularly raises doubts concerning political factors
being solely responsible for the student unrest. Spencer's
findings indicate that "Indian students do not have a very
high sense of political efficacy and, thus, do not engage
in partisan activity to a degree that their reputation sug-
gests."¹⁵

Adolescence: A period of stresses and strain

As youth grows up from childhood to adolescence, he
goes through physiological changes in the body and psycho-
logical strains due to emotional development. Coming of
age has been recognized as a period of stresses and strains.
A youngman's age is the beginning of the development of
identity within the community of the people whose values
he integrates in his own personality. Daniel (1971) discusses
the concept of identity developments in the Indian youth.
He comments on both positive and negative identities. Accord-
ing to him the student unrest is a symptom of negative
identity formation.¹⁶

Crisis of identity has also been pointed out by Reddy as one of the reasons for student unrest. Formation of positive identity is easier in mono-cultural societies. But in pluralistic societies like India, there are several identities which may not necessarily pose a problem of conflict. Further, the fast-changing social situation in India may not be helpful even to develop one particular identity. Thus we cannot expect students to conform to established identities.

Ricoux (1968) attributes the phenomenon of student unrest to the refusal of students all over the world to take up the adult roles and responsibilities. This failure among students to acquire the proper characteristics of the age has been described by Ricoux as 'cultural Neotinal'. This theory is not easily supported by facts. It is true that students may have characteristics of childhood in them but their motivation to act on their own, which is a symbol of adulthood, is entirely due to the cultural inheritance of man. Students are not only initiating into the adult society, but are also contradicting it in order to change it in their own life time. Ricoux's theory is also contradicted by another powerful sociological phenomenon observed by Laplatre, namely the refusal of the older

generations to permit the younger ones to take up the adult roles. According to Kashyap (1972), in a country where the largest percentage of educated people consist of the student community, it is a pity they do not have a greater say in matters, that instead of reflecting an avenue of hope for the country they merely reflect the defeatism and decadence of the society.²⁰

Cultural acceleration of the generational gap

Some sociologists find the cause of world wide student unrest in the growing gap between generations. This gap is triggered off by the tremendous advance in science and technology. Intellectual and cultural progress has been so rapid that communication between older and younger generations is becoming difficult. New disciplines have sprung up that are redefining old concepts of man and nature. Greater freedom in sex matters has led to new sexual ethics. Both in the West and East, traditions and values of the society, revered and honoured for hundreds of years are now under attack on and off the campus. In the West, the young generation is becoming impatient with the imperfections of the social order. There is an awesome gap between the values the older generation professes and the subversion of those values by social institutions and the bureaucratic society.²¹

In the Indian context the theory of generational gap is obvious. The Indian culture has traditionally failed to nurture individualism in terms of ego. With modern education and mass communication, nuclear families are beginning to develop individualism abruptly, without social accommodation in a phased manner. The increasing use of mass media has greatly affected the basic values and norms of behaviour of youth in joint families, kinship groups, as well as caste groups. The family remains largely sacred at conscious level, though authority clashes within some families are now visible. Thus an intergeneration gap emerges. Often the youth grows up in a milieu which is entirely different from that of his parents. A whole new generation has grown up in independent India in a radically different environment than the Raj days of the parents.

Cornack (1961) treats the problem of students in the context of social change.²² She argues that the problem may be viewed from the perspective of "generation conflict" and erosion of authority of the traditional family. This theory is supported by most of the contributors of "Youth unrest: conflict of generation"²³ edited by Singhi (1972), where the blame for student indiscipline is generally placed on adult apathy, indiscipline, and the sordid reality of the world which the young inhabit and which is in sharp

contrast to their idealistic makeup.

Srinivas (1972) regards the sociological background of students crucial in understanding the problem of student unrest. The first generation learners, according to him, find it difficult to adjust to the new demands and values of the society unlike those who have the advantage of generations of educational background in families. Expansion of education in the last quarter century is bringing more rural students to urban universities. These neoliterates often fail to adjust and integrate into urban ethos and, in turn, contribute to student unrest.

This theory seems to describe appropriately the changing society in India. National policy aims at establishing an egalitarian society ensuring channels of mobility to lower social groups. But there are numerous obstructions in the socio-economic mobility of backward communities. The neoliterates, naturally, undergo a sense of frustration which pushes them in the direction of agitations.

Adaptation to economic and social changes

Ross (1969) also takes note of sociological background of students in the context of unrest. Alongwith the generally accepted causes of student unrest like the phenomenal increase in the number of colleges and universities since independence, educational problems, rising

prices, the spectre of unemployment that haunts most, and the increasing influence of politicians in the universities, she has drawn an interesting conclusion that the student who tends to participate in or spark student indiscipline²⁵ do so to escape boredom or to have fun and excitement. Despite the variety of causes of student unrest in different parts of the world, Ross finds one factor common to all cases: the need to adapt to rapid economic and social changes. In the West this adaptation takes the form of conscious efforts to reach certain levels of affluence. On the other hand, the developing countries, where conditions of affluence do not exist, are facing tremendous dynamic changes at variance with traditional ways of life. This theme runs into her classification of five causes of student indiscipline, which are political changes, economic conditions, moral issues, educational reforms, and fun and excitement.²⁶

The preceding discussion leads us to the conclusion that no single unified theory can account for the student unrest. Students are the part of the society; their problem has to be viewed in the context of social dimensions. The review of theoretical bases indicates that

there are atleast four dimensions to the student problem: political, economic, socio-cultural background of the student, and the educational setting. The present study will attempt to examine various assumptions in the light of the previous discussion.

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CHAPTER - 3

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

In the preceding chapters we have examined the phenomenon of student unrest. The review of previous studies has revealed a concatenation of several variables, determining student unrest. Many of the points raised in these studies are more or less in the nature of assumptions in that they are not as yet supported by research. Still others are mere speculations and impressionistic views drawn as inference from popular press. These speculations are tentative and do not pretend to cover all the complex social factors that contribute to student behaviour. However, there is no dearth of empirical studies as well on the student problem. Di Bona (1967) deals with the problem of student unrest created by economic, psychological, social and political causes. This approach is based on the assumption that the student does not live in a vacuum but is affected by total environment in which he lives. The present study aims at a quantitative analysis of the factors existing in the students' environment and to establish significance of these social factors to student unrest. The present chapter describes methods and procedures that have been employed for the quantitative analysis of various hypotheses listed in chapter 1.

The universe

The data for the present study was secured from the Aligarh Muslim University Aligarh alone. No single university can present the true picture of the nation in its entirety, but as pointed out by DiBona² (1967), there are advantages to limiting the study to a single institution. Each institution has a history of its own and has its special values and traditions. Identical studies of single institution undertaken in different parts of the country will lead to generalizations to explain the phenomenon of student unrest.

Analysis and generalization would be more meaningful if there is a proper understanding of the institution in its historical perspective. Hence, a brief account of the history of Aligarh Muslim University and the purpose for which it was established would be in order. The Aligarh Muslim University owes its origin to the Aligarh Movement led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in the later part of the last century.³ After studying the conditions prevailing in India at that time, Sir Syed concluded that the backwardness of Muslim community was primarily due to their neglect of Western education. Sir Syed wanted the Muslims to have the benefits of liberal Western education along with

instruction in their own religion and tradition.⁴ This thinking was the motivating force for starting a school at Aliqarh in 1875, which was soon to become the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College.

As early as 1906, late Badaruddin Tayabji, hoped that "Aliqarh College develops into a university and becomes the centre of attraction educationally for all Mohammedans".⁵ A little later, the Muslim Educational Conference started a movement for the establishment of a Muslim University. The Muslim University Association was formed in 1911 to conduct negotiations with the government in this regard. The Agha Khan collected the necessary endowment funds and spear-⁶ headed the movement. On June 10, 1911 the Government of India communicated to the Secretary of State for India the wishes of the Muslim community and recommended the grant of sanction for Muslim University entertaining the hope that this "will be source of enlightenment and prosperity to that community and will fitly crown and carry on the lofty hopes of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan".⁷

The Aliqarh Muslim University Act was finally passed in 1920. A residential and teaching Muslim University came into existence on December 18, 1920. Speaking on the occasion of its inauguration, the first Vice-Chancellor,

Raja of Mahmoodabad, expressed the hope that the University might interest itself in a true union of hearts between the Hindus and Muslims.⁸

The University flourished. Referring to the role of the Aligarh Muslim University in India, the Gajendragadkar Committee in 1971 observed that the university has over the years made a notable contribution in the education of Muslims and has contributed to the study of Muslim culture and philosophy in depth as one of its prominent academic activities.⁹ The Aligarh Muslim University (Amendment) Act was enacted in 1951 in order to bring the provisions of the Act of 1920 in conformity with the requirements of the Constitution. The Act opened the membership of the court of the University to non-Muslims as well, and made theology an optional subject. However, as Chatterji Committee pointed out in 1961 that all this did not alter University's "fundamental character as a Muslim University for the educational advancement of Muslims."¹⁰

It is in this background that we have to study the present activism at the Aligarh Muslim University (A.M.U.) Campus. Aligarh students, over the years, have earned a high regard for their polite manners and disciplined behaviour, and were ever commended for this by the Chatterjee Committee.¹¹ Dr. Gajendragadkar, a former Chief Justice of

India, in his convocation address given at Aligarh, commented on the student discipline at Aligarh. He found it exemplary and noted that the Aligarh Muslim University had carried on its work uninterrupted at a time "when we have witnessed the distressing sight of the closure of several sister¹² universities".

In contrast to these commendations, past fifteen years have witnessed intense activism at the A.M.U. Campus. Agitations for restoration of minority character, strikes for removal of deans and provosts from their respective posts, and frequent moves for postponement of examinations have been launched. The issue of the minority character of the university has been most intensely debated and fought for. It is an issue which the successive generations of students have been able to keep alive, putting pressure on successive governments for recognition of the minority status of the A.M.U. The issue has both the social and political dimensions. It reflects the sense of insecurity among Muslims on the one hand and the desire to preserve their cultural identity on the other hand. Although Muslims in different parts of the country have different social, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds the minority status of the A.M.U. serves as the common political cause.

The structure of the university

The university as conceived by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was to be modelled on the pattern of Cambridge University in England. Right from its inception the dominant feature of this institution has been its residential character. The present university is a non-affiliating university. However, it maintains and manages three schools which eventually provide a substantial percentage of students to various faculties of the university. Students from these maintained institutions are regarded as internal and those coming from outside institutions are considered external. This classification has important implications on the student activism, for even a slight deviation in the quota system in university admissions may spark off intense agitations as happened in 1965 when the Vice-Chancellor was physically assaulted by disgruntled students.

At the present time there are ten Halls of residence in the university (eight for boys and two for girls) and one non-resident centre. In order to maintain its essentially residential character the university has to restrict admission to the extent of available accommodation in the Halls of residence. Seventy five percent of the students

are to reside in various Halls of residence; no more than 25 percent are allowed to live with their parents or guardians in the city. These non-resident students are, for administrative purposes, under the control of Non-Resident Students Centre (N.R.S.C.). In what follows the term Hall shall be used to include N.R.S.C.

There is a substantial number of the university students who await admittance to the hostels while staying out; these students are called "attached boarders". Students are not distributed to the various Halls by faculty. However both the undergraduate and postgraduate students live together in Halls of residence. This feature has been helpful in selection of sample from various Halls to be representative of various teaching faculties.

The sample

There were 10,223 students on the rolls of the university in the academic session 1976-77. The data collection occurred during December 1976- January 1977. Initially a five percent sample was planned. Keeping in mind a margin for nonresponse, 682 questionnaires were distributed among the students of 11 Halls (including N.R.S.C.) Distribution of questionnaires at Halls instead of faculties was preferred in view of the residential character of the university.

Of the 682 Questionnaires distributed, 544 were returned; 26 of these ^{were} incomplete. The analysis is thus based on 518 Completed questionnaires; this represents approximately a 5 percent sample.

Systematic random sampling was used for data collection, the first student from each Hall was selected randomly and then every fifteenth student on the rolls was included in the sample.

Table-A. below shows the selection of sample from various Halls.

TABLE-A. Hallwise Selection of Sample

Sl.No.	Name of Hall	Number of students on the Roll*	Number of Sample
1.	Sir Syed Hall	1296	86
2.	Aftab Hall	818	55
3.	Viqarul Mulk Hall	674	45
4.	Gulaiman Hall	778	52
5.	Mohaimul Mulk Hall	814	54
6.	Ross Masood Hall	716	48
7.	Hadi Hasan Hall	489	33
8.	Mahd. Habib Hall	316	21
9.	Abdullah Hall	1090	73
10.	S. Waheed Hall	616	41
11.	M.R.S. C.	2608	174
Total		10,223	682

* including the Attached Boarders

Construction of the questionnaire

The primary measuring instrument used to describe the social aspect of student unrest was a questionnaire (Appendix 1) which was developed by the investigator after an extensive review of the relevant literature on sociology, in general, and student problems in particular. ¹³ Since the sample respondents were educated youth whose medium of instruction was English, the questionnaire was drafted in English.

Initially, some student leaders, teachers, warden and provosts were consulted in order to obtain certain pertinent information. Experts in the field of psychological testing were consulted about the format and content of the questionnaire. A preliminary form of the questionnaire was administered to a group of students to test for comprehension and estimation of the time required for completing the questionnaire. Necessary modifications were made and the final form was developed. The questionnaire included closed ended ¹⁴ questions with three and two scale responses.

The questionnaire consisted of three parts. The first part was a biographical data schedule; it was designed to obtain information on such variables as age, sex, place of birth, level of education, type of courses taken, parents' level of education , family income, and the locus of the family. The second part of the questionnaire was designed to

discover attitudes and opinions of the respondents regarding such variables as political factors, social conditions, economic factors, and educational setting. The third part of the questionnaire relates to identification of restive and non restive students among the respondents. The latter classification was considered necessary in order to discover the two groups of students and to find out correlations with the variables of the first two parts. A number of questions designed to discover the participation of students in agitational activities, their beliefs, and their attitudes were included in this part.

The data collection

The questionnaire was self-explanatory. Brief instructions were provided to help in checking the responses. The investigator visited various Halls of residence to administer the questionnaire, taking precautions to insure genuine interest among the respondents. A few senior students in each Hall completed the questionnaire in the presence of the investigator, who offered necessary clarifications if requested. These senior students, in turn, assisted in the administration of the questionnaire to other students. Similar assistance of senior students was secured for completing questionnaires by ^{non}resident students.

Construction of the rating scale

With a view to measure student unrest, it was considered necessary to develop an independent scale for rating the unrestful behaviour. Ross (1969)¹⁵ has also adopted a technique for rating activism, using classification by three variables: studying hard, skipping classes, and participation in an specific strike. This classification, however, appears to be limited. Therefore a more broad-based rating scale was developed.

Twelve questions were formulated to be indicative of restive and nonrestive student behaviour. These questions were designed to elicit information regarding duration, frequency and intensity of the participation of students in agitational activities and/or to measure their reaction vis-a-vis agitations.

Validity of the scale

The validity of the twelve items was established by the internal criteria method which is illustrated below for the present study. One hundred students were randomly selected from the tabulation sheets. All positive responses were given a value of 1 and the negative responses were assigned a value of 3, whereas neutral responses were given a value of 2. The total scores for the twelve items were calculated and the value of the first

and third quartiles, Q_1 and Q_3 ¹⁶ respectively were determined. High and low scoring groups were classified on the basis of Q_3 and Q_1 values, respectively. Equal number of cases (N) were selected from each group and responses on each question of the two groups were compared and the difference¹⁷ was divided by N to find out discriminatory value. The result is reported in Table B (see also Appendix II)

Table- B. Discriminatory value of the twelve items measuring unrest

Sl.No. of Items	Discriminatory Value
1	0.80
2	0.86
3	1.00
4	0.86
5	0.26
6	0.06
7	0.06
8	0.13
9	0.26
10	0.00
11	0.46
12	0.86

* The serial numbers in this column correspond to the questions listed in part III of the questionnaire (Appendix: I)

It is quite apparent that only six questions have yielded reasonably higher values. These questions and their discriminatory value is given in Table C. These six items thus formed the admissible rating scale.

TABLE C- THE SIX POINT RATING SCALE

No.	QUESTION	DISCRIMINATORY VALUE
1.	Are you in favour of strikes and gheraos for the fulfilment of your demands by the university/ Hall authorities?	0.80
2.	Would you prefer to be an active participant in strikes?	0.86
3.	Do you find any excitement or fun in participating in the strikes?	1.00
4.	Would you continue in student demonstrations even if it turns violent?	0.86
11.	If there is any strike against the Provost, would you like to participate in it?	0.46
12.	Have you ever participated in any student strike?	0.80

* Question No.11 is also included because it is very close to .50 .

Reliability of the scale

In order to test the reliability of the above scale, the split-half method was adopted. The six items in Table-C were alternatively coded I and II. The total scores of I and II for each of these six items were found and the split-half reliability co-efficient was computed by using the Spearman-Brown Prophecy Formula.¹⁸ The reliability co-efficient was found to be 0.715 (Appendix: III), which is reasonably high. We thus conclude that the scale used is reliable.

A tentative S-D norm was found out (N=518) to classify restive and nonrestive students in the manner below. The total scores of one hundred students for the six items were calculated. The mean and standard deviation were obtained to be 13.45 and 3.60 respectively. Hence the upper bound for low-scores was noted to be 9.85 and the lower bound for high-scores as 17.05. (Appendix: IV). Restive and nonrestive students were then identified using these bounds. The results are given in Table-D below:

TABLE - D

Restive and Nonrestive Students of the Sample

Classification	number of Students
Restive Students	74
Nonrestive Students	68

N = 518

Statistical Analysis

Various hypotheses set out in chapter 1 were tested by using standard two-tailed chi-squared tests.¹⁹ Chi-Square measures the extent to which the observed frequencies deviate from the corresponding expected (or theoretical) frequencies. Thus, it is a measure of the discrepancy between the theoretical expectation and actual observation of frequencies in a sample. We were primarily interested in testing the independence of the restive behaviour of students of a specified sociological variables. The method used enabled us to find out the degree of association between restive behaviour and the sociological variables. The formula used for the purpose was:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right]$$

(O = observed frequencies; E = expected frequencies)

The statistical results are given in the following chapter.

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CHAPTER - 4

RESULTS OF THE HYPOTHESES

Chapter 1 lists various hypotheses respecting social determinants of student unrest; the testing of these null hypotheses is discussed in the present chapter. The discussion proceeds along with our classification of factors into four categories - political, economic, social and educational. The results of various tests for acceptance or rejection of the hypotheses have been indicated in various tables followed by discussion.

TABLE - E

Political Factors and Student Unrest

Hypothesis	² X value	Degree of freedom	Level of significance
1. Involvement in party politics by the student is not a factor effecting the present malaise of student unrest	2.23 (insignificant)	1 d.f.	1%
2. Union activities do not encourage student unrest	7.16 (insignificant)	2 d.f.	1%

1. Political involvement:

The calculated value of the chi-square based on the sample is 2.23. It is insignificant at 1% level of significance, since it is much smaller than the (theoretical)

table value of the chi-square at 1 degree of freedom(d.f.), which is 6.64 (Table-E/Appendix-V.1) Consequently, the null hypothesis of independence of the student unrest of the political involvement is accepted. We, therefore, conclude that involvement in party politics by the students is not a factor effecting the present malaise of student unrest.

2. Union activities:

The calculated value of the chi-square is 7.16. whereas the corresponding table value at 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance is 9.21. (Table-E/Appendix-V.2) The null hypothesis of independence of the student unrest and union activities is accepted. We thus infer that union activities do not distract students from their normal academic life.

TABLE - F

Economic Factors and Student Unrest

Hypothesis	χ^2 value	Degree of freedom	Level of significance
1. The economic status of a student's family is not a contributing factor to the student unrest	4.86 (insignificant)	2 d.f.	1%
2. The fulfilment of a students' aspirations by his present education does not effect his restive behaviour	18.12 (significant)	1 d.f.	1%

1. Economic status of the family:

Calculations from the sample give a chi-square value of 4.86; the corresponding table value at 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance is 9.21. (Table-F; Appendix-V.3) The null hypothesis that student unrest is independent of the economic status of the student's family is accepted at 1% level of significance. Therefore, we may conclude that the economic status of a student's family is not a contributing factor to the student unrest.

2. Fulfilment of ambition:

The calculated value of the chi-square is 18.12. The table value at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance is 6.64 (Table-F; Appendix-V.4) The null hypothesis is thus clearly rejected and we conclude that the two factors (student unrest and fulfilment of ambition by education) are not independent. Thus non-fulfilment of a student's aspiration by his education may lead to restive behaviour.

Social Factors and Student Unrest

Various hypotheses regarding sociological factors have been grouped together into three categories- Religious, Linguistic identity and religious observance; family structure and family environment; and, family background.

TABLE - G

Religious, Linguistic Identities,

Religious Observance and Unrest

Hypothesis	χ^2 value	Degree of freedom	Level of significance
1(a) A students restive or nonrestive behaviour is independent of the fact that he is a Muslim or not:	8.03 (significant)	1 d.f.	1%
(b) also it is independent whether he is from a Hindi-speaking region or not.	8.90 (significant)	1 d.f.	1%
2. Regular observance of religious duties and practices by students do not effect their agitational behaviour	21.08 (significant)	2 d.f.	1%
3. Students coming from homes with a strict religious atmosphere do not get involved in agitations	14.69 (significant)	1 d.f.	1%

1(a) Religious identity:

Calculations from the sample give a chi-square value of 8.03, whereas the corresponding table value at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance is 6.64. (Table-G; Appendix V.5a) The null hypothesis that ^{student}unrest is independent ^{of a}student's

religious identity is therefore rejected. Consequently, a student's restive or nonrestive behaviour is, effected by the fact whether he is a Muslim or a non-Muslim.

1. (b) Linguistic identity:

Calculations from the sample give a chi-square value of 8.90, whereas the corresponding table value at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance is 6.64 (Table-G; Appendix-V.5b) The null hypothesis that student unrest is independent of a student's linguistic identity is therefore rejected. Consequently, a student's restive or nonrestive behaviour is effected by the fact whether he is from a Hindi-speaking region or not.

2. Religious Observance:

The calculated value of the chi-square is 21.08, far too large from 3.84, the theoretical value at 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table -G; Appendix-V.6) The null hypothesis that the student unrest is independent of regular religious observance by students is therefore rejected. We may thus infer that regular religious observance by students effects their agitational behaviour.

3. Religious atmosphere at home:

Calculations from the sample give a chi-square value of 14.69 which is much higher than the table value of 6.64 at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-G, Appendix-V.7)

The null hypothesis that the student unrest is not effected by the strict religious atmosphere in a student's home is -herefore rejected. Hence we infer that the student's coming from homes with a strict religious atmosphere may get involved in agitations.

TABLE - II

Family Structure, Family Environment and Unrest

Hypothesis	χ^2 value	Degree of freedom	Level of significance
1. Whether a student comes from a single family or not has no effect on student unrest.	4.56 (insignificant)	1 d.f.	1%
2. Participation in family decision-making by student does not effect student unrest	7.90 (significant)	1 d.f.	1%
3. Conflicts with parents do not contribute to a student's restive behaviour	2.06 (significant)	1 d.f.	1%
4. Docile behaviour in the family does not take an aggressive form in the institutional setting	7.38 (significant)	1 d.f.	1%

1. Household structure:

The calculated chi-square value of 4.56 is smaller than the corresponding table value of 6.64 at 1 d.f. and 1% level of

significance. (Table-H/Appendix-V.8) We therefore accept the null hypothesis that the student unrest is independent of the household structure. It may be inferred that whether a student comes from a single family or not has no effect on student unrest.

2. Participation in family decision making:

Calculation from the sample give a chi-square value of 7.90. The table value is 6.64 at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-H/Appendix-V.9) The null hypothesis of independence is rejected and we conclude that participation in family decision-making by a student does effect the student unrest.

3. Conflict with parents:

The calculated value of chi-square is 2.06 whereas the table value is 6.64 at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-H/Appendix-V.10) The null hypothesis is therefore rejected and we conclude that conflicts with parents may contribute to student's restive behaviour.

4. Docile behaviour at home:

Calculations from the sample give a chi-square value of 7.38 which exceeds the table value of 6.64 at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-H/Appendix-V.11) We therefore reject the null hypothesis and infer that docile behaviour at home may take an aggressive form in the institutional setting.

TABLE- I
Family Background and Unrest

Hypothesis	χ^2 value	Degree of freedom	Level of significance
1. Parents' education is not a factor contributing to student unrest			
(a) Fathers' education	26.56 (significant)	2 d.f.	1%
(b) Mothers' education	29.23 (significant)	2 d.f.	1%
2. A student's rural background is not a factor in student unrest	7.80 (significant)	1 d.f.	1%

1 (a) Father's education:

The calculated value of chi-square is 26.56 too large compared to the table value of 9.21 at 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-I; Appendix V-12a). The null hypothesis is rejected and it is concluded that father's education may effect a student's restive behaviour.

1 (b) Mother's education :

The calculated value of chi-square is 29.23 too large compared to the table value of 9.21 at ²/d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-I; Appendix-V.12b). The null hypothesis is rejected and it is concluded that mother's education ^{may} effect a student's restive behaviour.

2. Rural background:

Calculations from the sample give a chi-square value of 7.80 which exceeds the table value of 6.64 at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-I; Appendix-V.13) The null hypothesis is therefore rejected and we infer that a student's rural background may be a factor in student unrest.

Educational Setting and Student Unrest

The hypotheses covering crucial areas of campus environment have been classified into four categories - Teacher-taught gap; evaluations and examinations; residential life; and, students' self assertion.

TABLE - J

Teacher-Taught Gap and Unrest

Hypothesis	χ^2 value	Degree of freedom	Level of Significance
1. The distance between students and teachers as perceived by students does not lead to discontent and unrest.	2.36 (insignificant)	2 d.f.	1%

1. Distance between students and teachers:

The calculated value of chi-square is 2.36, which is much less than the table^{value} of 9.21 at 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-J; Appendix-V.14) The null hypothesis is accepted and we infer that the distance between students and teachers as perceived by students does not lead to discontent and unrest.

TABLE - K

Evaluations, Examinations and Unrest

Hypothesis	χ^2 value	Degree of freedom	Level of significance
1. The current academic evaluations including examinations are factors not effecting student unrest.	8.93 (significant)	1 d.f.	1%
2. Total internal assessment of examinations would not contribute to student activism.	10.31 (significant)	2 d.f.	1%
3. Semester system is not one of the factors for unrest among the students.	4.54 (insignificant)	2 d.f.	1%

1. Academic evaluations:

Calculations from the sample give a chi-square value of 8.93, which is obviously significant at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-K; Appendix-V.15) The null hypothesis therefore is rejected and we conclude that student unrest is effected by the current academic evaluations including examinations.

2. Total internal academic assessment:

The calculated value of chi-square is 10.³¹, which exceeds the table value of 9.21 at 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-K; Appendix-V.16) The null hypothesis is thus rejected. We infer that total internal academic assessment may contribute to student activism.

3. Semester system:

Calculations from the sample yield a chi-square value of 4.54 which is insignificant at 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-K; Appendix-V.17) We therefore accept the null hypothesis that the semester system is not a factor in student unrest.

TABLE - L

Residential Life at the Campus and Unrest

Hypothesis	χ^2 value	Degree of freedom	Level of significance
1. Satisfaction with hostel life is not a factor in a student's restive behaviour	21.87 (significant)	1 d.f.	1%
2. Satisfaction with hostel amenities is not a factor in student activism.	3.31 (insignificant)	2 d.f.	1%
3. Authoritarian attitude of Hall and university administration is not a factor in student unrest.	2.26 (insignificant)	1 d.f.	1%

1. Satisfaction with hostel life:

The calculated value of chi-square is 21.87, which is highly significant at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-L; Appendix-V.18) The null hypothesis is therefore rejected. We conclude that satisfaction with hostel life may effect a students' restive behaviour.

2. Satisfaction with hostel amenities:

Calculations from the sample give a chi-square value of 3.31 which is insignificant at 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-L; Appendix-V.19) We therefore accept the null

hypothesis that satisfaction with hostel amenities is not a factor in student activism.

3. Authoritarian attitude of administration:

The calculated value of chi-square is 2.26 which is insignificant at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-L, Appendix-V.20) The null hypothesis is therefore accepted and we infer that the authoritarian attitude of the administration is not a factor in student unrest.

TABLE - M
Students' Self Assertion and Unrest

Hypothesis	χ^2 value	Degree of freedom	Level of significance
1. Regular study habits do not effect student activism	17.37 (significant)	1 d.f.	1%
2. Discipline (Sciences and nonsciences) is not a factor in student unrest	0.18 (insignificant)	1 d.f.	1%
3. Adolescence does not effect student activism.	19.37 (significant)	2 d.f.	1%
4. Students with average duration of stay in universities are not prone to participate in agitations	21.97 (significant)	2 d.f.	1%
5. Student participation in the university affairs is not a factor in student activism.	9.92 (significant)	1 d.f.	1%

1. Regular study habits:

Calculations from the sample give a chi-square value of 17.37 which is highly significant at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-M/Appendix-V.21) The null hypothesis is therefore rejected and we conclude that regular study habits may effect student activism.

2. Discipline (Sciences and non-sciences):

The calculated value of the chi-square is 0.18 which is quite insignificant at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table -M/Appendix-V.22) The null hypothesis that Disciplines (Sciences and nonsciences) are not a factor in student unrest is accepted.

3. Adolescence:

Calculations from the sample yield a chi-square value of 19.37 which is highly significant at 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-M/Appendix-V.23) The null hypothesis is therefore rejected. We conclude that adolescence may effect student activism.

4. Duration of stay at university:

The calc-ulated value of chi-square is 21.97 which is highly significant at 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-M/Appendix-V.24) The null hypothesis is thus rejected and we infer that duration of stay at university may be a factor in student activism.

5. Student participation in university affairs:

Calculations from the sample give a chi-square value of 3.92 which is significant at 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance. (Table-M/Appendix-V.25) The null hypothesis is therefore rejected. We conclude that participation by students in the University affairs is a factor in student activism.

DISCUSSIONS, INTERPRETATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

In the previous chapter the results of the present study have been reported. The present chapter aims at interpretation of the inferences drawn from the empirical study. Comparisons will be made with other relevant studies in order to present an all India picture of the problem. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section deals with political factors accounting for the restive behaviour of the students. The second section highlights the economic factors which effect the student community in a number of ways. The third section is devoted to the sociological background of the students, the ways such background fashions their perceptions, beliefs and value patterns, and its contribution in generating tensions among them. The fourth section considers problems associated with academic and residential life of the students.

1. Political factors

Studies referred to in chapter 1 demonstrate that the involvement of students in political affairs of the country is becoming a world-wide phenomenon. The intensity of involvement, however, varies from country to country. Students in many developing countries have succeeded in

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toppling governments and in affecting significant social¹ and political changes. Reference was also made to the part student community had played in the Indian freedom² movement under the guidance of political leaders. Review of previous studies reveals that, after independence, the political parties continued to have link with student unions, and in some places bitter rivalry exists among political parties to secure hold on student unions.³ Various studies on student and politics in the Indian context has helped in the formulation of several hypotheses, which we now propose to examine.

Numerous studies and articles in recent years place⁴ blame on political parties and politicians for growing unrest among students. We explore the validity of the hypothesis that the interference of political parties is a major factor in student unrest.⁵⁶

The political parties have worked to politicise a number of universities in India and have been quite successful as in the case of Benaras Hindu University. Eakin (1972) observes that this politicisation has undoubtedly been a factor in student unrest at that university.⁷ Mehta (1975) blames the Swayan Sevak Dal and Vidyarthi Parishad for creating communal tensions and violent demonstrations at

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the Banaras Hindu University. Srivastava (1974), in an analysis of the Banaras Hindu University crisis of 1973, maintains that the bipolarization of political forces has assumed rigid dimensions. "With the Congress and C.P.I. on the one hand, and opposition parties of the Grand Alliance on the other, the campus conflict has become the battle ground of competing ideologies".⁹ With the re-emergence of Muslim Political Organizations in Northern India, the Minority character of the Aligarh Muslim University became a live issue. Mehta (1975) has noted the role of the Muslim Majlis and Muslim League in creating tensions and demonstrations by students on the minority status issue.¹⁰ The issue has far reaching effect of politicization of Muslim community in India.¹¹

The issue of the character of the University has rendered the A.M.U. as the hot bed of politics at the national level. Political parties having an eye on block votes of Muslims have made promises in their election manifestos in the last several elections. Bargains, appeasement, antagonism, and riots have been the ^{end} product of the whole issue.

At the campus, successive generations of student leaders have been able to muster whole-hearted support for any strike, protest, march or demonstration which was connected

with the 'minority status' of the A.M.U. Resentment has been shown both by students and teachers against the Aliqarh Muslim University (Amendment) Act of 1972 which they claim has distorted many features of the A.M.U.¹² The issue of restoration of 'minority status' continues to bewilder the students at the A.M.U. When asked to express their views regarding the causes of student unrest at the A.M.U., an overwhelming majority (70%) of the sample (N=518) believed that dissatisfaction with the 1972 Act was the main cause of the recent strikes.¹³ Surprisingly only 17% of the sample thought that involvement of politicians has led the students to strikes.¹⁴ This discussion leads us to conclude that extreme interference by politicians or other vested interests has the capacity to disturb the campus peace. Numerous research studies have shown that only a small group of students like political involvement, while others loathe not only the politics but also the politicians. These considerations led us to test the hypothesis that "involvement in party politics by the students is not a factor effecting the present malaise of student unrest." The data¹⁵ of the present study supports this hypothesis. Both the restive and nonrestive students in a large numbers did not favour political involvement in university affairs and the union matters.¹⁶ They strongly disfavoured political

interference. The result of the present survey falls in line with numerous other studies done in India and elsewhere. Eakin (1972) maintains that most students "are not politically oriented, specially towards the most overt form of participation such as involvement in political clubs and parties and in student radicalism."¹⁷

Dawson and Prewitt (1969) maintain that popular picture of a whole student body participating in riots and demonstrations is a distorted one for the college and university population of developing countries as well as those of the more developed nations. They comment that "the students politics no where does it involve more than a minority of the student body."¹⁸ Lipset (1965), in summarizing the survey of students' attitude in many universities of Latin America and Asia, concludes that most of them do not support radical politics.¹⁹ Altbach (1968) observes that the widespread publicity given to student indiscipline may obscure the statistical fact that most Indian colleges have not been²⁰ plagued by student unrest and are tranquil. He notes in the present unrest the absence of general support to issues which was characteristics of the student agitations prior to 1947. Altbach, in an other study, comments that student indiscipline often centres in certain areas of India and

radicalism is no longer ideologically oriented but²¹
centres more on local immediate issues. Eakin (1972)
refers to an unpublished Ph.D. thesis based on the Bombay
data where it was observed that active interest including
participation in politics is almost entirely absent in the
student community of Bombay colleges.²² Eakin's own study
discloses a small percentage of students being involved²³
with political parties.

The studies in other parts of the country, for
example Sharma (1971) on the Raipur data,²⁴ Ross (1969) on
the Bangalore sample,²⁵ and studies on Delhi and Benaras²⁶
students, demonstrate that only a minority of the students
in those universities were involved in politics. The Khuro
study at the Delhi University points out that 31.8% of the
students in the sample were party sympathisers but only
1.4% were party members.²⁸ Gaudino (1965) remarks²⁷ concerning the
situation that "student indiscipline though sensational in
a few cases is not as widespread as it is dramatic". He
concludes that Indian students are not violent, rebellious,
irascible, angry, demanding, uncompromising, and resentful.
They are more indolent and careless than rowdy and unmana-
geable. But they are capable of being provoked into extreme
attitude.²⁹

The present study in conjunction with other surveys leads us to conclude that students are not, by and large, politicised. However, one has to be cautious in interpreting the role of politics and politicians in the analysis of student unrest. It has to be understood in the context of a particular institution and a particular region.

Politicisation of student unions

Student unions represent an important avenue for student participation in the university life outside the classroom. Properly organised, they help in self government and are healthy outlet of student energies through extra-curricular programmes. The constitutions of some of the student unions enumerate the aims and objectives as: to promote the social, cultural and intellectual development of the students; to inculcate democratic traditions among them and to prepare them for responsible citizen.³⁰

The picture which emerges from the various studies is that student unions have considerably deviated from their essential functions and in many universities have more active in "political activities".³¹ Student groups and organizations have always been active in student unions. Mehta (1973) maintains that in a number of volatile Indian universities like Aligarh, Banaras, Calcutta and Delhi,

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student unions have been politically important. Most of the unions have controlled all agitations which stem from local issues. But in some cases, student unions are controlled by ideological political factions, attempting to use the unions as a base of operations against an opposition political group within or outside the university. 33

Many of the student unions have become more and more politicised, in the narrow sense of the term, in that they bear direct link with political parties. Most of the major all India organisations of students are actually students wings of national political parties. Thus the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad represents the JanSangh, the National Students Union of India (I) the Congress(I), the N.S.U.I.(U) the Congress (U), the Yuwa Janta, the Janta or the Lok Dal, the All India Students Federation the C.P.I. and the student Federation of India the C.P.M. The Muslim League has its student wing in Kerala as the Muslim Students' Federation. A report of the election results of 1979 of the student unions of the universities of Allahabad, Calcutta, Delhi, J.N.U. Kerala, Madras (six colleges) Omania and Punjab, vividly describes the power game of various political parties at these universities. 34

This trend appears to make the threat of political manipulation of student unions a real one. Some of the

recent agitations in India were caused by such manipulation. Although outside political interference does exist, yet local grievances and frustrations more commonly lead student unions to undertake militant action against the university administration or state government. 35

The trend in many universities indicates that the whole process of campaign, elections, and representation in student unions is just a farce, an elaborate show designed to give prominence to some "political" types, and that student politicians are those who have nothing to do with academics, and whose only activity is to stop classes on some pretext. These considerations led us to test the hypothesis that "union activities do not encourage student unrest". Our sample does bear out this hypothesis. 36 It should be remarked that the student union at the A.M.U. is not completely politicised as is the case with some other universities. 37 This view is supported by the fact that there is a conspicuous lack of student wings of any political party at the A.M.U. union. However, in Altbach's terminology, the A.M.U. union is a "volatile" union as is indicated by its capacity to vanguard agitations connected with the minority status of the university.

2. Economic factors

Economic factors contributing to student unrest will be examined in this section at two levels: first, to discover the extent of unrest among economically poor students, and second, linking the unemployment and poor life chances with unrestful behaviour.

The general economic conditions of the country impinge upon a student's family. In a distressed family, the student feels the teeth of economic deprivations more. The economic struggle in which, the family is involved often lasts throughout a student's career. It is sometimes argued that students from economically poor families find it difficult to devote fully their energies to their studies. Because they remain continuously in a state of agitation and restlessness they are prone to indulge in all types of anti-social and destructive activities as a strong reaction to the society which has hitherto neglected them. Altbach (1968) maintains that economic pressure during student life helps to determine the scope and intensity of student action. The underlying assumption is that economic deprivations develop stresses of which unrest is but the symptom.

These considerations made us test the hypothesis that "the economic status of a student's family is not a contributing factor to the student unrest". In view of the above

discussion, we almost hoped this hypothesis will be rejected. But, the empirical evidence from our sample⁴⁰ supports the hypothesis. The inference that can thus be drawn is that unrestful behaviour is no monopoly of any particular economic class. The problem of student unrest is not simple. This was also noted by Di Bona, who remarks that the theory of/^{economic} deprivation lacks applicability to this⁴¹ phenomenon.

Another way to explain the relation of economic factors to the present student unrest is to link it with the unemployment, future prospects, and ambitions. The intensity of economic struggle is enhanced by a permanent feeling of financial insecurity. The prospect that await the students⁴² at the end of their studies are dark and gloomy. The situation becomes even worse when the expectations raised by university education remain unfulfilled. This generates frustrations among the youths. Kabir (1958), summing up this situation observes: "Combined with the disrespect for the existing system of education which its constant and sweeping condemnation engenders in them, their lack of purpose, and the hiatus between expectation and actuality, induce in the minds of the younger generation a sense of frustration which threatens to corrode their character and⁴³ destroy the very basis of society."

The general unemployment in the country is thus a factor to reckon with in regard ^{to} the students' future prospects and ambitions. Uncertainty about future is conducive to tensions and anxieties. The alarming rate of increase in unemployed graduates, and even professionals, make the students restless. On the live Register of Employment Exchange Offices, the number of educated job seeker were 20.53 lakhs in June 1971 which went up to 35.25 ⁴⁴ lakhs in June 1973.

Of Majumdar's sample of Lucknow degree holders, 14% ⁴⁵ are unemployed five years after graduation. Rao finds 60-70% of Delhi's poorest graduates (those with only pass degree) employed eight years after graduation as minor ⁴⁶ clerks, a job designed to accommodate high school graduates. Khan's 1967, Employment Survey of Aligarh Alumni reveals about 49% unemployed and 7% self-employed. These unemployed alumni came from all faculties: Arts, Commerce, Law, Education, Science and Engineering. Surprisingly, a substantial number of unemployed individuals held degrees in Education, Science and Engineering, though for majority of them unemployment was short-lived. Approximately one fourth of the total unemployed alumni remained without a job for a period beyond one year. ⁴⁸ About 16% of the

unemployed alumni had obtained the first division and about 57% had passed in the second division. A distressing feature of the report is that for twenty-nine position holders even their position and merit did not seem to help them.⁴⁹ This relentless devaluation of degree mirrors the sluggish Indian economy and contributes to frustration.⁵⁰

It is in the light of this evidence that we planned to test the hypothesis "the fulfilment of a student's aspirations by his present education does not effect his restive behaviour". On the basis of our sample we found⁵¹ the hypothesis highly significant. Thus non-fulfilment of a student's aspirations by his current education may lead to his restive behaviour. This finding is in line with similar studies at other Indian universities.

In a Bombay study, 65% of the students were worried or were particularly anxious about their future prospects,⁵² their careers, and the prospects of employment. Fluctuating employment opportunities for university graduates influence the direction and orientation of student movement. Insecurity, resulting from poor employment prospects, can be⁵³ a stimulus to student unrest.

Thus the students questioning the relevance of the present educational system have serious doubts about fulfilment of their ambitions through education. Even in career-oriented courses whenever job opportunities decrease, there are repercussions on the student body. Uncertainty about future often operates throughout the student career, and the resulting frustrations may find an expression in an agitation which may not have been in connection with the employment opportunities.

3. Social factors

Besides political and economic factors there is a concatenation of other social factors which combine together to produce conditions conducive to student unrest. Students constitute a vital segment of our society. Their attitude and behaviour are in fact the reflection of general attitude that pervades our society. In a sense the student problem is the problem of Indian society as a whole. The forces and pressures to which various social institutions and social situations are subjected also impinge upon the life of the student directly or indirectly. In this perspective the sociological background of the student body becomes extremely relevant. Therefore, the importance of such

factors as caste and community distinctions, religious belief and practices, family setup and its environment cannot be ignored in comprehending the problem of student unrest. Changes occurring in these social institutions and social processes have affected not only the life style of the older members of the society but also the youth who seems to be caught in a crisis of conflict. We have formulated a number of hypotheses which we propose to test in the hope of explaining the differential effect of the sociological background on the student behaviour. This section discusses these hypotheses in the light of relevant theoretical assumptions referred to in Chapter 2.

Caste and community composition

Caste principle has always been a dominant factor in the Indian social system. It has performed an integrative role in strengthening the traditional joint family system and proselytizing the Hinduism. But there has also been repulsion or feeling of antipathy between members of different caste and more particularly between high caste and Sudras. In an egalitarian society of modern India, caste feeling, prejudices, and biases are an anathema. Yet we hear so much about casteism in our public life. Caste feelings have permeated every social institution, and education is no exception. With reference to educational institutions, Sarkar comments, "Caste still remains a troublesome inhibiting factor."

Kapadia (1954) in a study of graduate teachers in the Bombay state finds that 42% of the group displayed⁵⁶ fairly intense caste feeling. DiBona (1966), working with the Allahabad University data, notes a division of the faculty along caste lines.⁵⁷ Srivastava (1974), in his study of the campus violence at the Banaras Hindu University, finds group formation among teachers and students on caste basis. He observes that caste dynamics determined the student union elections and incidence of violence and alliance among them. He comments that "the big bosses of the university are ex-tempore leaders of their caste community."⁵⁸ Vishwa Yuvak Kendras' study also shows that disturbances in educational institutions have taken place on the basis of caste composition of the teachers and students of the Colleges.⁵⁹

At the Aligarh Muslim University, the caste element is replaced by community composition. Muslim students constitute a majority at the campus. Being in minority, non-Muslim students do not generally get involved in student union's politics. They rarely contest for union posts.⁶⁰ Student leadership at the A.M.U. is composed of Muslim students. They have been in the vanguard of agitations connected the 'minority' status of the university.

Behind this issue are the real anxieties and fears of the Muslim community about preservation of their distinct identity in pluralistic India. Politicisation of the issue has been made possible due to this mass Muslim⁶¹ psychology. A preliminary survey indicated whole-hearted support of the Muslim students to agitations on this issue.

Ross (1969) in her study finds that caste and religious background does not appear to be a variable that has much effect on indiscipline, yet it is significant in increasing the anxieties of the students in regard to their⁶² education and career. This observation led us to test the null hypothesis that "a students' restive behaviour is independent of his religious/linguistic identities." Our⁶³ data yielded significant results. An explanation for the rejection of the null hypothesis could be the isolation these groups feel on account of non-identification with the issues and the lack of faith in the causes. This could also be the reason why the non-Muslim and those Muslim students who belonged to a far off state and constituted distinct linguistic group did not take active part in agitations. Identification with a particular cause may break even linguistic barriers as is evident from the support the Muslim students gave to the 'minority status' issue.

Religion

Religious beliefs and their accompanying practices and rituals control or modify human behaviour in ways and

to a degree which cannot be ^{dis}/regarded by a student of
64 sociology. Religion thus is a regulating force which
plays a unifying role and maintains solidarity among people.
For centuries, religion has played a very important role in
the lives of Indians. About religious belief and observance
in contemporary India, there is, however, little precise
information. 65 Nevertheless, the impact of Western education
and concept of individualism have fostered questioning atti-
tude among young people. This has made them more liberal in
66 their attitude; unlike older generation, the values and be-
liefs of youngsters are in a state of flux.

Breaking away from religious beliefs and practices
may change a student's traditional control over his behaviour.
We, therefore, set out to test the hypothesis that, "Regular
observance of religious duties and practices by students do
not effect their agitational behaviour". We hoped that
observance of religious duties and practices would diminish
the intensity of restiveness among the youth. Contrary to
our expectation the null hypothesis is rejected by our sample. 67
We conclude that religious observance and practices do not play
a dominant role in conditioning their restive behaviour. Hence
the intensity of their wayward behaviour cannot be explained in
terms of their deviation from traditional beliefs and practices.

Often a student is caught in a conflict between traditional religious values and the freedom of the campus life. This conflict may produce a frustrating experience which he may exhibit in unproductive activities. Therefore, we were interested in testing the hypothesis that, "students coming from home with a strict religious atmosphere do not get involved in agitations". This hypothesis is rejected by our sample and hence we infer that the students coming from homes with a strict religious atmosphere may get involved in agitations.

Family

In sociological literature, family is described as the primary unit of social organization, the cradle of personality and the basis of social life. Kephart (1961) calls it the most remarkable of all man's social institutions. Family is one of the most important agencies of socialization. It determines the attitude and life pattern of a child. The concept of personal duties and responsibilities towards family and kin is deeply rooted in Indian culture and society. But the industrial civilization has shattered many of the old foundations of the family life. The old size of the family and the scope of the economic security it could provide, have almost vanished. Large families have become, in most cases, an economic liability.

Kapadia (1958), discussing recent trends affecting the joint-family, notes that the British rule introduced a new economic order, ideology and administrative system⁷⁰ which began to transform Indian culture.

The authoritative concept of joint family has been responsible for its solidarity in the past. Representing the traditional values in the society the family may influence the students towards social conformity and adherence to traditional social and religious ideas.⁷¹

With the decreasing hold and control of the parents, and the new idea of equality of man and woman, and under the economic pressures, the old concept of family has weakened and crumbled. A system of bilateral obligations typical of the modern Western family gradually seems to be developing in India.⁷² Large families are gradually replaced by nuclear and extended families. The role and responsibilities of various members of such families are also undergoing tremendous pressures of the present day social and economic institutions.

Breaking up of the family system may generate anxieties and tensions among the young generation leading to unrestful behaviour. We were interested in testing the hypothesis that "whether a student comes from a single

family or not has no effect on student unrest". Our
sample supports the hypothesis. ⁷³ Thus there is no significant relation between a student's agitational behaviour and the type of the family from which he comes.

Erosion of parental authority, and generational conflict, particularly among the neoliterates and the rural youths, may, however, have relevance to student unrest. Structural changes are occurring in the families, and the traditional authoritarian families are dwindling and are being replaced by smaller families with more freedom and equality among the members. However, these structural changes are transient. There are families where authoritarian atmosphere still prevails. On the other hand, there are families where more congenial and free atmosphere is noticeable. In an authoritarian family, conformity to traditional values is a rule. But in many families children have greater say in the family affairs and independent thinking is encouraged. We therefore formulated the null hypothesis as: "Participation in family decision-making by students does not effect student unrest". Our data ⁷⁴ rejected this hypothesis. We conclude that participation in family decision-making by a student does effect his restive behaviour. That is probably why the children from authoritarian families find it difficult to assimilate in

their personality structure the traditional value system which they find conflicting with their student life. Sharp differences in values and attitudes exists between students and their parents. Cormack (1961) explains these attitudinal differences in terms of generational conflict which she regards a product of social change. According to her, students have been caught ⁷⁵ in a whirlwind of social change.

Students have more progressive attitudes than their parents regarding style of life, friendship with the opposite sex, mode of dress, recreation ,etc. Thus intergenerational conflict is latent at family level. In a study on generation gap, dealing with the Delhi University students and their parents, it was found that there are several crucial areas where conflict between generations is latent. For example, relationship with the opposite sex is one of the crucial areas of conflict. ⁷⁶

The conflict between traditional value system and modernity affects student attitudes. They feel closer ^{to} their peer groups than to their family. The diversification of interests among the family members is another reason for youths to seek friendships outside the family circle. This tends to strengthen their relations with their peers ⁷⁷ and to draw them away from their families. It is the

friendship group which is receiving considerable importance both in and outside the campus and has played a major role in rendering the campus unquiet.

Another consequence of the conflict between tradition and modernity is development of an antiauthority attitude. Frustrations and tensions to which a student is subjected on account of the conflict in values helps to develop an antiauthority attitude. Cormack (1968) points out that the family remains largely sacrosanct at the conscious level, though authority clashes within some families are now visible and admitted. The irrational antiauthority feelings are therefore directed principally towards other authorities-school and university officials, and of late, the police and disliked government officials.⁷⁸

In Ross (1969), conflict with parents was also noted to be a factor in student unrest. Such conflict, she maintains, build up tensions that may be released in other ways.⁷⁹ She concludes^{CS} that the Indian student is still a part of somewhat authoritarian and usually a large family. The pent-up feelings which a student develops in trying to secure independence are released in campus demonstrations rather than in challenging his family.⁸⁰

With a view to test the validity of the above assumptions two null hypotheses were formulated: "Conflicts with parents do not contribute to a students' restive behaviour" and "Docile behaviour in the family does not take an aggressive form in the institutional setting". Both these hypotheses are rejected on the basis of our sample.⁸¹ Furthermore, conflict with the parents does not become an open revolt by the youth. He does not object to parental decisions even if they are not to his liking. He meekly submits to the authority of the older members of the family. The reason why a student does not generally defy the authority of the family, in words of Shils (1961) is that "he is not a total nihilist of all traditional values". There is much vacillation between tradition and modernity among the students.⁸² Another possible reason for absence of open defiance against family is the fear of consequences and the students' economic dependence on parents. The suppressed feeling finds expression in defiance of authority in an objective situation where the consequences are not strictly personal.

Another family condition having bearing on the student unrest is the level of education of the family, particularly of the parents. Traditionally the students

who came to universities and colleges belonged to a privileged class which had a tradition and respect for education. Now students from every strata of a heterogeneous society (urban, rural, and tribal) come to the universities. Many new entrants to the college life are children of illiterate or poorly educated parents. The gap between these students and their parents is quite wide.

Parsons and Eisenstadt have emphasized the need to look at the magnitude of the differences between the values of the adult and youth generations in varying types of societies. They remark that generational conflict is caused, at least in part, by sharp value differences among generations, and that such cleavages, particularly between the better educated (younger on the average) and uneducated (older), are great in modernizing societies.⁸³ Srinivas (1968) hypothesizes that the first generation learners, whose number is tremendously increasing, find it difficult to adjust to the new demands and values of the society unlike those who had advantage of generations of education.⁸⁴

In this context we proposed to test the null hypothesis that "parents' education is not a factor contributing to student unrest". The hypothesis is rejected

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on the basis of our sample. One reason for validity of this hypothesis may be that the neoliterates have to face unbridgeable gap between their home culture and the university culture.

As most of the universities are located in towns, university life is the first exposé of the rural students to the urban life. The rural back-ground of a student becomes an obstacle to overcome in the urban ethos of academic life. At the campus "he is alienated from the politics of the faculty the dead weight of curriculum, the official rhetoric of obedience and restraint." 86 Often he has no sympathy for or understanding of the elaborate administrative forms which are designed to protect the individual, award merits and insure justice for all. 87 Problems of adjustment produce conditions conducive to restive behaviour. We therefore sought a quantitative validity of this assumption and tested the hypothesis that, "A student's rural background is not a factor in student unrest". Our data does not support this hypothesis. 88 Several explanations may be given for the high degree of significance of this result. One of the possible explanations could be 'alienation'. The students, living in hostels and acquiring new knowledge and ways of behaviour, feel a distance from their families.

This distance is particularly great when their parents are illiterate or they are living in villages. This separation and as yet, other unknown factors, contribute to their feeling of insecurity and to the uncertainty of their roles in society. These students are deeply alienated from the old Indian culture, custom and traditions. Intellectual trends often push the students further from traditional culture and social patterns. As a result of these factors the students feel alienated from and superior to their families and the society at large, but at the same time, they feel guilty because of their rejection of the "true" values of their culture. In colleges and universities, the common feelings of alienation amongst the students unite them against the teacher, the administration and the authorities. They regard the university administrators, teachers, and the police as the symbols of old culture and establishment. However, in a study of three universities at Varanasi, Lal (1973) concludes that alienation is not so rampant as is generally supposed to be.⁹¹

Besides alienation, other reasons for higher degree of unrest among students from rural areas may be found in the conflict of cultural norm of rural and urban societies,

acute competition with students from established and educated families, poor educational background and previous segregation of sexes among the rural students. The superior attitude and social distinction of fellow urban students and the literal lack of means to take full advantage of education, make it difficult for the rural student to obtain fulfilment of intellectual personalities.³² The resulting bewilderment may account for their restive behaviour.

4. Educational setting

Preceding sections of the present chapter have revealed a collection of political, social and economic factors that impinge upon the student behaviour, his outlook, values and ambitions. Often the troubled sociological background structurally^r conducive to tensions operates as a barrier to a student's assimilation into the corporate life of the university. The situation aggravates when the campus environment instead of lessening their difficulties further complicates their problems. Educationists, sociologists and thinkers have found fault with the education system and have held the view that the foremost cause of the student unrest is our ailing education system itself.³³ Mrs. Gandhi, in one of her convocation

addresses in 1973 remarked that "one of the biggest mistakes we made when we gained independence, was not to have overhauled thoroughly our educational system and structure. We are paying for it now".⁹⁴

The present section of this chapter is devoted to consideration of some of the most crucial areas of the campus environment bearing on the student behaviour. Hypotheses on issues as dynamics of teacher-student relation, inadequacies of examination system together with the method of evaluation of a student's academic worth, the living conditions of students at the campus, and the desire of self-assertion and participation in university administration have been formulated and tested in the light of our sample.

Teacher-student gap

According to Kabir (1958), the first and foremost cause of the present state of unrest among the students is to be found in the roles the teachers play.⁹⁵ There appears to be a loss of leadership by the teacher.⁹⁶ Traditionally relations among teachers and students are expected to be cordial and of mutual understanding and affection. A teacher is a father-figure showing concern for the welfare of his pupil, considerate, affectionate and exercising benevolent discipline. But today unfortunately these qualities of a

good teacher are conspicuous by their absence. The teachers do not command the respect and affection of their pupils as they did in the past. The charismatic "guru" has long since lost his significance as a force in Indian higher education.⁹⁷

There appears to be a social and academic gap between the teachers and the students. Concern is voiced against this gap particularly in institutions of higher education.⁹⁸ Aiyer (1965) notes absence of close relation between teachers and students even in the residential universities of India.⁹⁹ In the Raipur Survey, Sharma (1971) requested the respondents to list the causes of unrest. The dynamics of teacher-taught relation secured third rank after defective examination system and unemployment.¹⁰⁰ Bajrangilal (1973) in his study of the three universities of Varanasi finds a growing conflict between students and teachers. He observed that "the mutual cordility of relationship and concern which had far reaching influence on the attitudes, values and behaviour of the taught, is almost a thing of the by gone days."¹⁰¹

Ross (1969) ascribes this lack of relationship to overcrowding in classes. As a result of mass education the contact between teachers and students has diminished.¹⁰² The only contact of a student with his teacher is in

the classroom where he finds himself submerged in the vast ocean of his classmates, a fact which makes the principle¹⁰³ of individual attention a myth. Kirk (1966) effectively puts it when he remarks "students proclaim that they are little more than units in an anonymous mass, numbers on a computer tape and to the professor faceless beings in a lecture hall. They insist that they have no opportunity to develop meaningful personal relationship with professors who are indifferent to their needs and problems".¹⁰⁴ This gap breeds the germs of restlessness. The neglected students in their efforts at self-assertion force the attention through indisciplined behaviour.

Besides a depersonalised atmosphere of classroom teaching, a number of other factors are responsible for growing gap between the teachers and students. Ross (1969) focuses attention on students from rural areas, low income and non-Brahmin homes coming to universities in large proportions. Among such students traditional attitude of respect for guru is absent.¹⁰⁵ Gasfield (1968) places blame on teachers. He observes that the teachers do not shed their family, caste and regional identifications in subordination to those of national intellectual culture and thus fail in inducting the students to the culture of the

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cosmopolitan world. He further observes that caste, kinship, local origin, and religion all are involved in a teacher's career. To maintain his authority over the students is essential for the Indian teacher and to keep his social distance is vital. 107 Another factor which is responsible for the gap, as Spencer (1967) points out, is 108 indiscipline among the teachers themselves; coming late, leaving the classes before scheduled time, going back home immediately after classes, and not being available to students needing help or advice, are but a few instances of 109 irresponsible behaviour on the part of some of the teachers. Such a conduct has a pervasive influence on a student's behaviour.

The pervasiveness of the teacher-student gap as a factor leading to unrestful behaviour necessitated the formulation of the null hypothesis. "The distance between students and teachers as perceived by students does not lead to discontent and unrest". This hypothesis is accepted 110 in the light of the data from our sample. We can infer that the relation between students and teachers at the A.M.U. are rather cordial. This inference is strengthened by the fact that only 13.4% of the total sample (N=518) reported lack of rapport between them and their teachers while 40.6%

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claimed close rapport between them. Two possible explanations can be that the classes are not as over-crowded at the A.M.U. as at other universities, and the residential character of the university provides greater opportunities to the students to mix socially with their teachers. Another social reason for this close rapport could be the community affinity, a factor which takes the form of caste affinities elsewhere.

An other factor bearing on teacher-student relation, it is said, is that teachers are not responsive to the needs and problem of the students. 112 To investigate whether the teachers take interest in the students as individuals, the opinion of the respondents of our sample was sought. Only 11.2% of the total sample (N=518) answered in affirmative 113 while 20.6% responded in negative. Despite this result the students are by and large satisfied with the teacher. Only 28 percent were totally dissatisfied with the teaching 114 while 27% were fully satisfied.

Examinations and evaluations

The traditional system of examination has been described as the most pervasive in the Indian education by Altbach (1968). He maintains that examinations have been one of the main causes of student indiscipline throughout the history of Indian higher education. Since the last century students have rioted against difficult

examinations, often forcing authorities to lower standards
115
of rescheduled tests.

The system of annual examinations was first introduced in the older Indian universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras which were patterned after the London University. These three were examining universities conducting examinations for students of colleges under their jurisdiction. External impersonal examiners were part of this system. Even when teaching universities were established at Banaras and Aligarh they could not dispense with the external examiners and continued to follow the examination procedure.¹¹⁶ Under this system energies of the students are not fully utilised throughout the year and students do not generally study until a month or so before the examinations. According to Kabir (1955), the students naturally seek an outlet of such energies in various kinds of activities some of which are anti-social.¹¹⁷ The final examination becomes a test of memory rather than understanding or judgment. The whole examination structure helps the students to develop a mental orientation which Patil calls as "quasi-nihilist attitude towards the institution".¹¹⁸

The examination system is made worse for both teachers and students by the fact that it is sometimes inefficiently run, and that rumours often circulate about

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uneven grading. The situation is aggravated by large
scale practice of unfair means prevalent in India. It
has now come to be accepted as a fairly general lapse.¹²⁰
Assault on invigilators, and supervisions of examination
centres by police are not uncommon. Interesting though
it may sound, yet it is a fact that the Calcutta High Court
was obliged to issue specific orders on how the final law
examination was to be conducted and supervised.¹²¹ Leakage
of question papers are also not uncommon. In fact it is
said to be quite rampant in the Calcutta and Lucknow uni-
versities. Teachers and university officials are said to be
involved in an organized racket of leaking out papers.¹²²

Many of the evils of the examination system are
the by-product of the students anxieties to secure success
by all means. They attach considerable importance to the
grades because it has value to them in seeking jobs as
well as for receiving and retaining scholarships. Anxie-
ties and tensions thus inherent in the examination system
determine the attitudes of the students towards the teachers
as well as the university.

The above situation obtaining in India led us to
formulate the hypothesis that "the current academic evalua-
tions including examinations are factors not effecting
student unrest". This hypothesis is rejected on the basis

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of our sample, and we conclude that student unrest is effected by current evaluations and examinations. We can draw the inference that the students have least faith in present examinations and evaluations. They seem to be unsatisfied with the system of assessment which generates tensions and anxieties among them. This hypothesis empirically strengthens the commonly held belief that examination system is one of the important causes disturbing the peace of the campus.

In order to reform the examination system, suggestions have been made to replace it with periodic assessment system round the year by internal examiners. In some universities this system operates but instead of solving the problems it has put the teachers in many difficulties. Singh (1971), reporting about the new system operating in some Agriculture universities, observes that it operates as a cause of friction between the teacher and student rather than of unity among them. He remarks that to be a friend and a judge at the same time is not an easy task, particularly in our country where by and large relationship tends to be based on mistrust. We are interested in checking the hypothesis that "total internal assessment of examinations would not contribute to student activism".
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Our sample rejects this hypothesis and we infer that total

internal academic assessment may give rise to student activism. In the context of the social conditions under which teachers have not been able to completely shed away their caste, community and political affinities, the chances of bias and favouritism are considerably high. The student appears to be fully aware of this social situation.

Semester system

To involve students in their studies round the year, the Aligarh Muslim University introduced the semester system in 1967. Under this system the single annual examination was replaced by two six-monthly examinations. In addition to this, a system of sessional work carrying marks to be awarded by the teachers on the basis of various tests and sessional assignments was also introduced.

To test whether the semester system contributes to the unrest among students, we hypothesized that "the semester system is not one of the factors for unrest among the students". This hypothesis is accepted on the basis of ¹²⁶our sample. One explanation is that there are a number of positive advantages to the students under the semester system. The courses are short, compartmentalized and fragmented and the preparation for examination is less strenuous, with the added facility that a student can re-appear for a paper not passed.

Residential life

Residential life is the distinctive feature of the Aligarh Muslim University. Over the years when other universities like Banaras and Allahabad have lost their residential character, the A.M.U. is probably one of the several residential universities which has jealously maintained its residential character. Residential arrangement is significant because it creates one single student community instead of many smaller communities scattered in several affiliated colleges within and without the university town. Shaw (1968) maintains that the environment of the residential pattern may give rise to an atmosphere conducive to academic pursuits, but it also helps the mobilization of large numbers of students for other purposes.¹²⁷ The studies of Lipset, Emmerson, and Meyerson in many countries have demonstrated that students residing in university housing or rented room may often be more¹²⁸ politically involved than living at home.

The reason for intense activism may be found in several factors. Availability of a large number of students, living under same conditions and sharing same problems help in developing collective behaviour, a situation immediately suitable for collective action. The residential character of the university has helped the student union to

become powerful and more volatile. The student union has been in the vanguard of activism at the campus.

Residential life has a profound influence on the students. The first entry in the hostel may be a unique experience for a student as he is for the first time away from the protective atmosphere of his home. The hostel setting is also attended with stresses and strains where the student is on his own and must make his own decisions. It is in this environment that he is gradually alienated from his family and gets absorbed more and more in the dynamics of peer groups.

We therefore hypothesised that "satisfaction with hostel life is not a factor in a student's restive behaviour".¹²⁹ This hypothesis is rejected in the light of our data. We can draw the inference that the hostel life presents certain structurally conducive conditions for student unrest. It is in the hostel environment that new identities are developed, and new beliefs and attitudes emerge. The whole process is in itself full of strains and tensions. The sudden and new found freedom renders the students often go a little wild. This is more particularly true about students from rural areas who cannot adjust to the sudden freedom from family and social restrictions.¹³⁰ We

observe on the basis of our sample that unrest is more
visible among the residential students.¹³¹

With the increase in enrolment and heavy pressure on hostel accommodation, the existing amenities and student services have considerably been reduced. Even in the existing facilities deterioration is visible. Poor quality of the food and bad living conditions have important bearing on a student's attitude. Some of strikes at the A.M.U. and other places were related to dissatisfaction with the hostel amenities.¹³² We, therefore, tested the hypothesis that "satisfaction with hostel amenities is not a factor in student activism". The hypothesis is accepted on the basis of our data.¹³³ This assertion falls in lines with the observation of Altbach (1968) that declining standards and dissatisfaction with campus conditions are necessary but not sufficient conditions for student unrest in India. However there are exceptions to this generalisation.¹³⁴ We see that sometimes even in exceptionally high quality institutions where excellent facilities exist, strikes are not uncommon. Singh (1958) refers to the example of the Birla Institute of Technology which has good material conditions yet has been one of the most indisciplined colleges under the Ranchi University.¹³⁵ Good facilities are no guarantee for absence of indiscipline in a residential institution as one observes a recent strike in the Birla Institute at Pilani.¹³⁶

Despite authoritative structure of the university, the atmosphere prevailing in our universities is becoming less authoritative. The commanding tone of the university authorities and the hostel administrators is least tolerated. We were interested in exploring the reactions of our sample respondents towards the university authoritarian atmosphere. Our sample respondents predominantly reported the university environment less authoritative than their
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homes. We tested the hypothesis that "Authoritarian attitude of hostel and university administration is not a factor in student unrest"; this hypothesis is accepted on the
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basis of our sample. We infer that there is a growing realisation among university administrators that to dictate students means creating more problems. This attitude of the university authorities has led to adhoc compromises on several academic issues leading to deterioration in academic standards.

Student and self-assertion

Within any educational system there are several methods of self assertion, both legitimate and illegitimate. A student may find several avenues within the educational milieu to assert himself and thereby to establish his distinct identity. Ideally one of the legitimate methods is to prove one's worth by academic attainments and actualisation of his aspirations. This implies that he has to

spend more time in studies and overcome impediments to success. He would find less time for activities unconnected with his academic pursuits. We therefore hypothesized that "Regular study habits do not effect student activism".¹³⁹ Our sample does not support this hypothesis.

A commonly-held view is that the students of arts and law show a greater degree of unrest as compared to the students of sciences,¹⁴⁰ and that the art colleges have been more restive than the professional colleges like medicine¹⁴¹ and engineering. We tested the hypothesis that "discipline (sciences and nonsciences) is not a factor in student unrest".¹⁴² The hypothesis is accepted on the basis of our sample. We therefore infer that unrest is not the monopoly of the students of arts alone. The model of strike as an expression of self-assertion which once was limited to students of arts and law seems to have pervaded other disciplines and even¹⁴³ institutions of eminence like the Birla Institute at Pilani.

The age factor in student agitation has much relevance. Coming of age in all societies has been recognized as a period of stresses and strain. As youths grow up from childhood to adolescence, they go through physiological changes and psychological strains due to emotional developments. The desire to assert oneself is more prominent among the adolescent group. An adolescent wants others to recognize him. When legitimate avenues are not available, he

expresses himself through an irrational antiauthority attitude. In this context we tested the null hypothesis that "adolescence does not effect student activism." Our sample ¹⁴⁴ rejects this hypothesis.

This hypothesis is further strengthened by yet another hypothesis which asserts that "students with average duration of stay in universities are not prone to participate in agitations". The latter hypothesis is also not supported by our sample. ¹⁴⁵ Students of average seniority in our sample were mostly in the adolescent group; these students constitute a majority of the student body. It is but natural that the largest number of activists would come from this group. The personality make-up of these students is in such a formative stage that they find the routine work so boring that their desire of self-assertion and their urge of pleasure-seeking easily bring them to agitations and strikes. Ross (1969) maintains that such agitations not only keep them to overcome the boredom but give them enough fun and excitement. ¹⁴⁶ Rioux (1968) regards the unrest among the adolescent as refusal to accept the adult role. ¹⁴⁷ Senior students who are closer to the adult roles would not generally like to participate in strikes.

As to the sex factor, we note absence of unrestful activities among female students in our sample. This observation is in accord with other reported studies that

female students are usually less politically active¹⁴⁸
than male students. Ross (1969) reports lesser parti-¹⁴⁹
cipation of female students in strikes.

Student participation in university administration

The students' demand to participate in university affairs is gaining importance. According to Rao (1969), participation (of students) in the affairs of educational institutions involves a feeling of identification with and commitment to the institution and the academic life¹⁵⁰
it offers including its policies, programmes, and activities.

The increasing student unrest and the agitational methods to gain participation in decision-making process have compelled the people connected with higher educational institutions, the government, the University Grants Commission and the vice-chancellors to realise that students have to be admitted as co-partners along with teachers¹⁵¹
and administrators in the management of the university.

Some of the Indian universities following the West have started their efforts to train the students to participate in the decision-making processes. Andhra, Punjab, Baroda and Trivendram universities, and the Government of Bihar and Rajasthan have agreed to give representation to¹⁵²
students in the governing bodies. We set out to test the

hypothesis that "student participation in the university affairs is not a factor in student activism". Our sample does not support this hypothesis. We infer that the students have realized their importance as an organized power in the educational system in the sense that they can make themselves heard and thus can influence the educational system.

The foregoing discussion has brought to surface many ramifications of the problem of student unrest. Inferences and conclusions have been drawn on the basis of our data at relevant places. However it would not be out of place to point out several generalizations emerging from the study.

Students are an integral part of any society. What they think and how they behave is a reflection of the prevailing conditions of the society. A society, with politics invading various walks of life, economic instability, caste and community affinities, changing social values and unplanned expansion of higher education not tuned to the needs of society, is bound to generate stresses and strains. The problem and the perspectives of student unrest are, therefore, intimately related to these social conditions.

The influence of politics on student body has been considerable. The extent to which student community is politicised varies from institution to institution and from region to region. However it is generally a small body of students which has connection with political parties and is at places highly politicised. Same is true about student unions which at some places are receiving guidance from their political mentors. Bitter rivalries come to surface particularly at the time of elections of the student unions.

The theory of economic deprivations lacks applicability to the problem of student unrest. The data support the view that student unrest is not limited to any particular economic class. However uncertain future prospects and bleak job opportunities impinge on the behaviour of students. Cultural factors such as caste, religious and linguistic identities are significant in relation to restive behaviour of students, though their influence varies in inverse ratio from place to place. Data suggest that identification with Muslim psychology to preserve their distinct identity in pluralistic India, is reflected in the behaviour of Muslim students of our sample. Elsewhere, this element of community affiliation is visible in the form of caste affinities.

The view that traditional joint and extended families exert influence on student behaviour is not supported by our data. The theory of generational gap, to some extent, explains the phenomenon of student unrest. Social change, occurring at an accelerated speed since independence, has effected traditional values and social system in a number of ways. The emerging conflict between tradition and modernity has an impact on the student community, although this conflict is often below the surface and is difficult to measure. Religion which has traditionally been regarded as an instrument of social control is gradually losing its significance in the life of students. Strict discipline and religious atmosphere at home is no guarantee to what a student would do in a free and less restrictive milieu of campus life. The data suggest that even observance of religious practices seems to have lost a conditioning effect on student behaviour.

The troubled family background of student impinges on his behaviour. Conflict with parents, lesser say in decisions affecting family, keep the students away from family bonds and bring them closer to peer groups whose importance has increased in recent times. Alienation is more visible among neo-literates. The new found freedom make them go a little wild. The monotony of the academic

schedule sometimes draws them to participating in strikes and demonstrations which provide them enough 'fun and excitement'. Unrest is quite visible among the students with rural background. They find unbearable the ^{dead} weight of curriculum and the official rhetoric of obedience and restraint. The cultural difference between rural and urban life increases the problem of adjustment which produces conditions conducive to restive behaviour.

Added to the troubled social background are the irrelevancy and inadequacies of the educational system which precipitate the restive behaviour. The growing gap between teachers and students, though not supported by our data, has, at other places, been a factor to be reckoned with. Faculty, itself involved in petty politics and group rivalries, has a corroding influence on the student behaviour. An awesome tenseness descends on the campuses during examination time. Much of the trouble is linked with examination system. Students are not only questioning the relevancy of existing system of examinations and evaluations but at places have expressed their resentment in a senseless fury against the whole educational system. Despite authoritarian content of educational

system, residential life at the campus is becoming less authoritarian and least onerous. Students seem to enjoy it. Satisfaction with hostel amenities, even they are meagre, as our data suggest, has little significance in determining restive behaviour.

Students are becoming conscious of their status. They are more demanding than ever before. Their desire of self-assertion, more visible among adolescent students, may find expression in irrational and anti-authority behaviour often directed towards impersonal objects like institution, police and state. The pervasiveness of student unrest is considerable. The problem which was restricted to disciplines in Arts and humanities has permeated among the students of all disciplines including science, engineering and medicine, though its extent varies. The students have realised their power and importance and assert that they must have say in the university administration.

The causes of student unrest are, thus, both intricate and complex; political, economic, socio-cultural and educational factors interplay in determining the restive behaviour of the student. More researches would be needed before a theory explaining the phenomenon of

student unrest is formulated. In view of regional variations the problem has to be thoroughly analysed and understood before India can begin to solve the pressing problems facing higher education. No piece-meal reform will help but a thorough overhauling of our educational system is needed. The system has to be made socially relevant to the needs and aspiration of emerging generation.

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APPENDIX - I

QUESTIONNAIRE

ON

"SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF STUDENT UNREST IN INDIA"

Notes:

1. Your generous cooperation is requested.
2. All informations will be strictly confidential.
3. Please fill up the relevant informations and mark (✓) on the replies you consider appropriate.

PART - I

FACTUAL DATA

1. Age:

- (a) Below 18 years
- (b) 18 to 21 years.....
- (c) Above 21 years

2. Sex:

- (a) Male
- (b) Female

3. Courses:

- (a) Pre graduate
- (b) Graduate
- (c) Post graduate

4. Faculty:

- (a) Science (b) Arts and Social Sciences.....
- (c) Law (d) Medicine
- (e) Engineering... (f) Others

5. Period of stay at university:

- (a) 1 to 2 years
- (b) 3 to 5 years
- (c) 6 years and above

6. Are you a:

- (a) Resident student.....
- (b) Non-resident student

7. Religion:

- (a) Muslim
- (b) Non-Muslim

8. Marital status:

- (a) Married
- (b) Unmarried

9. State to which you belong is a:

- (a) Hindi speaking state
- (b) Non-Hindi speaking state

10. Where did you grow up between 5 to 15 years of your age?

- (a) Village.....
- (b) City

11. Academic Record:

- (a) First class career (At least two 1st class).....
- (b) Good record (All second divisions)
- (c) Third division (with one or no second division) ..

12. Family structure:

- (a) Single family
- (b) Joint family and Extended family

13. Level of Father's education:

- (a) Illiterate
- (b) Educated upto High School
- (c) Educated upto college/university.....

14. Level of Mother's education:

- (a) Illiterate
- (b) Literate
- (c) Educated upto college/university

15. Family income:

- (a) Upto Rs. 500 p.m.
- (b) Rs. 600 to Rs. 1500 p.m.
- (c) Above Rs. 1500 p.m.

P A R T - II

OPINION AND ATTITUDES

1. It is often argued that student should not align themselves with political parties and seek support from them?

Yes No

2. It is said that student union activities and their leaders distract students from their academic interest?

Yes No Can't say

3. Do you think that your present education will help you in achieving your ambitions?

Yes No.....

4. Do you think that you should observe your religious duties regularly?

Yes No Can't say

5. Do you think that your parents' attitude toward religion is of strict conformity?

Yes No

6. Do you think that single family is better than joint family?

Yes No

7. Do you have any say in family decisions affecting yourself?

Yes No

8. Do you have any serious conflict with either of your parents in recent years ?

Yes No

9. If you do not agree with a decision made by your parents will you feel free to complain?

Yes No

10. Do you have close rapport with your teachers?

Yes No Can't say

11. Do you feel that your teachers are interested in you as an individual?

Yes No Can't say

12. Are you satisfied with your class room teaching?

(a) Satisfied (b) Not-satisfied

(c) Partially satisfied

13. Do you find university environment authoritative
than that of your home?

Yes No Can't say

14. Do you enjoy your stay in hostel more than your home?

Yes No

15. Do you think that food and accommodation facilities
in the hostels are satisfactory?

Yes No Can't say

16. Do you find close relations with your hall authorities?

Yes No

17. Do you habitually spend some time in library/seminar?

Yes No

18. Do you think that semester system is one of the causes
of strains among the students?

Yes No..... Can't say

19. Do you think that present system of examination is the best method of assessment of your knowledge?

Yes No

20. Are you in favour of total internal assessment of your examination answer book?

Yes No Can't say

21. Are you in favour of direct participation of students in the university affairs?

Yes No

P A R T - III

ATTITUDE TOWARDS STRIKES

1. Are you in favour of strikes and gheraos for the fulfilment of your demands by the University/Hall authorities?

Yes No Can't say

2. Would you prefer to be an active participant in strikes?

Yes No Can't say

3. Do you find any excitement or fun in participating in the strikes?

Yes No Can't say

4. Would you like to continue in a student demonstration even if it turns violent?

Yes No Can't say

5. Do you think that the students in this university do not damage university property during strikes, because of sentimental attachment?

Yes No..... Can't say

6. Do you agree that discipline among students of the A.M.U. is mainly responsible for absence of any damage to the university property?

Yes No..... Can't say

7. Is it correct that fear of action and lack of courage prevents the students of A.M.U. to damage the university property?

Yes No Can't say

8. Do you agree that dissatisfaction with the A.M.U. Act, 1972, is the main reason for recent strikes?

Yes No Can't say

9. Do you think that dissatisfaction with university authorities is the reason for strikes at the A.M.U.

Yes No Can't say

10. Is it correct to say that involvement of politicians has led the students to strike at the A.M.U.?

Yes No..... Can't say

11. If there is any strike against the provost would you like to participate in it?

Yes No Can't say

12. Have you ever participated in any student strikes?

Yes No Can't say

APPENDIX - II

VALIDITY OF RATING SCALE*

Step I

Total Scores on Twelve Items of 100 Respondents**

Respon- dents	Scores	Respon- dents	Scores	Respon- dents	Scores
1	26	17	25	33	25
2	24	18	26	34	24
3	27	19	30	35	29
4	32	20	28	36	27
5	30	21	24	37	30
6	22	22	23	38	30
7	30	23	21	39	28
8	23	24	26	40	23
9	30	25	28	41	25
10	24	26	27	42	22
11	29	27	29	43	20
12	20	28	30	44	30
13	24	29	20	45	27
14	27	30	24	46	29
15	27	31	32	47	30
16	32	32	31	48	31

* The technique of internal criteria method also known as the technique of "Summated ratings" has been adopted. (See Young, P., Scientific Social Surveys and Research, (III edition), (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1956) pp. 333-336

** The respondents have been selected randomly.

Respon- dents	Scores	Respon- dents	Scores	Respon- dents	Scores
49	25	67	28	85	24
50	32	68	31	86	22
51	30	69	30	87	30
52	28	70	28	88	30
53	28	71	30	89	26
54	30	72	30	90	31
55	32	73	25	91	25
56	18	74	23	92	28
57	27	75	26	93	31
58	27	76	26	94	28
59	27	77	28	95	24
60	31	78	31	96	27
61	24	79	29	97	27
62	25	80	22	98	28
63	27	81	25	99	20
64	31	82	25	100	31
65	31	83	23		
66	28	84	19		

Step II

Determination of Q_1 and Q_3

$N = 100$

i	f	F
17 - 19	3	3
20 - 22	9	12
23 - 25	23	35
26 - 28	28	63
29 - 31	32	95
32 - 34	5	100

i = class intervals

f = frequency

F = cumulative frequency

$$Q_1 = l + \left[\frac{(.25)N - F}{f} \right] \quad 1$$

$$= 22.5 + \left[\frac{25 - 12}{23} \right] \quad 3$$

= 24.19 (Low Score)

$$Q_3 = l + \left[\frac{(.75)N - F}{f} \right] \quad 1$$

$$= 28.5 + \left[\frac{75 - 63}{32} \right] \quad 3$$

= 29.62 (High Score)

Step III

Discriminatory Value of the Twelve Items

	*	*	*	*	*
Items	H.S. N=15	L.S. N=15	D	D/N	D.V.
1. Are you in favour of strikes and gheraos for the fulfilment of your demands by the University/Hall authorities?	14	2	12	12/15	0.80
2. Would you prefer to be an active participant in strikes?	13	0	13	13/15	0.86
3. Do you find any excitement or fun in participating in the strikes?	15	0	15	15/15	1.00
4. Would you like to continue in a student demonstration even if it turns violent?	14	1	13	13/15	0.86

* H.S. = High scorer; L.S. = Low scorer; D = difference;
 D/N = difference divided by total Number;
 D.V. = discriminatory value

Items	H.S. N=15	L.S. N=15	D	D/N	D.V.
5. Do you think that the students in this university do not damage university property during strikes, because of sentimental attachment?	6	2	4	4/15	0.26
6. Do you agree that discipline among students of the A.M.U. is mainly responsible for absence of any damage to the university property?	11	10	1	1/15	0.06
7. Is it correct that fear of action and lack of courage prevents the students of A.M.U. to damage the university property?	12	11	1	1/15	0.06
8. Do you agree that dissatisfaction with A.M.U. Act, 1972 is the main reason for recent strikes?	2	4	2	2/15	0.13

Items	H.S. N=15	L.S. N=15	D	D/N	D.V.
9. Do you think that dissatisfaction with university authorities is the reason for strikes at the A.M.U.? 7	13	9	4	4/15	0.26
10. Is it correct to say that involvement of politicians has led the students to strike at the A.M.U.? 7	11	11	0	0/15	0.0
11. If there is any strike against the provost would you like to participate in it? 7	14	7	7	7/15	0.46
12. Have you ever participated in any student strike? 7	15	3	12	12/15	0.80

Validity of item nos. 1,2,3,4,11 and 12 is established as these items have yielded a D.V. of 0.50 or above.

APPENDIX - III

RELIABILITY OF SCALE

Determination of Split-Half Reliability Coefficient**
through Spearman-Brown Prophecy Formula

N=100

Respon- dents	X	Y	XY	X ²	Y ²
1	7	5	35	49	25
2	7	3	21	49	9
3	8	5	40	64	25
4	9	9	81	81	81
5	9	7	63	81	49
6	5	3	15	25	9
7	9	7	63	81	49
8	5	4	20	25	16
9	7	9	63	49	81
10	7	3	21	49	9

* Item: Nos.1,2,3,4,11 and 12 have been included in the scale as they have yielded a D.V.of 0.50 (See Appendix-II)

** For determining reliability coefficient of the scale, scores on item nos.1,3, and 11 are summated in Group I and scores on items 2,4, and 12 are summated in Group II. Both of these groups are represented in the above tabulation as X and Y respectively.

Respon- dents	X	Y	XY	X ²	Y ²
11	9	6	54	81	36
12	3	3	9	9	9
13	9	6	54	81	36
14	9	4	36	81	16
15	6	7	42	36	49
16	9	9	81	81	81
17	5	6	30	25	36
18	7	5	35	49	25
19	9	7	63	81	49
20	8	6	48	64	36
21	6	4	24	36	16
22	6	7	42	36	49
23	4	3	12	16	9
24	7	5	35	49	25
25	9	5	45	81	25
26	7	6	42	49	36
27	9	6	54	81	36
28	9	7	63	81	49

Respon- dents	X	Y	XY	X ²	Y ²
29	5	3	15	25	9
30	7	3	21	49	9
31	9	9	81	81	81
32	9	8	72	81	64
33	8	3	24	64	9
34	6	4	24	36	16
35	7	8	56	49	64
36	9	4	36	81	16
37	7	9	63	49	81
38	9	7	63	81	49
39	8	6	48	64	36
40	5	4	20	25	16
41	7	4	28	49	16
42	5	3	15	25	9
43	4	4	16	16	16
44	9	7	63	81	49
45	8	5	40	64	25
46	8	7	56	64	49

Respon- dents	X	Y	XY	X ²	Y ²
47	7	9	63	49	81
48	9	8	72	81	64
49	6	5	30	36	25
50	9	9	81	81	81
51	9	7	63	81	49
52	5	9	45	25	81
53	7	7	49	49	49
54	9	7	63	81	49
55	9	9	81	81	81
56	3	3	9	9	9
57	7	6	42	49	36
58	8	7	56	64	49
59	9	6	54	81	36
60	9	9	81	81	81
61	5	5	25	25	25
62	9	4	36	81	16
63	8	7	56	64	49
64	9	8	72	81	64

Respon- dents	X	Y	XY	X ²	Y ²
65	9	8	72	81	64
66	8	8	64	64	64
67	9	6	54	81	36
68	9	9	81	81	81
69	9	7	63	81	49
70	8	6	48	64	36
71	8	8	64	64	64
72	9	7	63	81	49
73	6	5	30	36	25
74	5	4	20	25	16
75	7	5	35	49	25
76	9	3	27	81	9
77	8	6	48	64	36
78	9	9	81	81	81
79	8	7	56	64	49
80	5	3	15	25	9
81	8	5	40	64	25
82	9	6	54	81	36

Respon- dents	X	Y	XY	X ²	Y ²
83	7	6	42	49	36
84	3	4	12	9	16
85	6	4	24	36	16
86	3	5	15	9	25
87	9	9	81	81	81
88	9	8	72	81	64
89	7	5	35	49	25
90	9	9	81	81	81
91	8	4	32	64	16
92	8	6	48	64	36
93	9	8	72	81	64
94	8	6	48	64	36
95	7	3	21	49	9
96	9	6	54	81	36
97	8	5	40	64	25
98	9	5	45	81	25
99	3	3	9	9	9
100	9	9	81	81	81
<hr/>					
$\Sigma X =$	$\Sigma Y =$	$\Sigma XY =$	$\Sigma X^2 =$	$\Sigma Y^2 =$	
745	597	4637	5853	3945	

$$r = \frac{\sum XY - (\sum X)(\sum Y)/N}{\sqrt{\left[\sum X^2 - \frac{(\sum X)^2}{N} \right] \left[\sum Y^2 - \frac{(\sum Y)^2}{N} \right]}}$$

$$r = \frac{4637 - \frac{745 \times 597}{100}}{\sqrt{\left[5853 - \frac{(745)^2}{100} \right] \left[3745 - \frac{(597)^2}{100} \right]}}$$

$$r = 0.5575862$$

$$r_{tt} = \frac{2r}{1+r}$$

$$r_{tt} = \frac{2(0.5575862)}{1 + 0.5575862}$$

$$= 0.715 \quad (\text{Highly Reliable})$$

APPENDIX - IV

DETERMINATION OF S.D. NORM

Total Scores on six Items of 100 Respondents

Respon- dents	Scores	Respon- dents	Scores	Respon- dents	Scores
1	12	19	16	37	16
2	10	20	14	38	16
3	13	21	10	39	14
4	18	22	13	40	9
5	16	23	7	41	11
6	8	24	12	42	8
7	16	25	14	43	8
8	9	26	13	44	16
9	16	27	15	45	13
10	10	28	16	46	15
11	15	29	8	47	16
12	6	30	10	48	17
13	15	31	18	49	11
14	13	32	17	50	18
15	13	33	11	51	16
16	18	34	10	52	14
17	11	35	15	53	14
18	12	36	13	54	16

Respon- dents	Scores	Respon- dents	Scores	Respon- dents	Scores
55	10	71	16	87	18
56	6	72	16	88	17
57	13	73	11	89	12
58	15	74	9	90	18
59	15	75	12	91	12
60	18	76	12	92	14
61	10	77	14	93	17
62	13	78	18	94	14
63	15	79	15	95	10
64	17	80	8	96	15
65	17	81	13	97	13
66	16	82	15	98	14
67	15	83	13	99	6
68	18	84	7	100	18
69	16	85	10		
70	14	86	8		

N = 100

i	f	X	X"	fX"	fX" ²
6 - 8	14	7	0	0	0
9 - 11	13	10	1	13	13
12 - 14	28	13	2	56	112
15 - 17	34	16	3	102	306
18 - 20	11	19	4	44	176
	<u>100</u>			<u>215</u>	<u>607</u>

$$\bar{X} = AM + \left[\frac{\sum fX''}{N} \right] i$$

$$\bar{X} = 7 + \left[\frac{215}{100} \right] 3$$

$$\bar{X} = 13.45$$

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum fX''^2}{N} - \frac{(\sum fX'')^2}{N^2}}$$

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{607}{100} - \frac{(215)^2}{100^2}}$$

$$\sigma = 3.60$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Lower bound of the High Scorers} &= \bar{X} + \sigma \\ &= 13.45 + 3.60 \\ &= 17.05 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Upper bound of the Low Scorers} &= \bar{X} - \sigma \\ &= 13.45 - 3.60 \\ &= 9.85 \end{aligned}$$

APPENDIX - V.1 to V.25

Statistical Analysis of the Hypotheses

APPENDIX - V.1

H₀:- Involvement in party politics by the students is not a factor effecting the present malaise of student unrest*

Political Involvement	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	12 (15.63)	18 (14.36)	30
No	62 (58.36)	50 (53.63)	112
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(12-15.63)^2}{15.63} + \frac{(18-14.36)^2}{14.36} + \frac{(62-58.36)^2}{58.36} + \frac{(50-53.63)^2}{53.63} \\
 &= 2.23
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 2.23
(Insignificant)

* See Question No.1, Part II Questionnaire, Appendix-I

TABLE - 17.2

Ho:- Union activities do not encourage student unrest

Union activi- ties encourage Student unrest	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	16 (21.88)	26 (20.11)	42
Can't say	16 (17.71)	18 (16.28)	34
No	42 (34.39)	24 (31.60)	66
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O-E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(16-21.88)^2}{21.88} + \frac{(26-20.11)^2}{20.11} + \frac{(16-17.71)^2}{17.71} \\
 &\quad + \frac{(18-16.28)^2}{16.28} + \frac{(42-34.39)^2}{34.39} + \frac{(24-31.60)^2}{31.60} \\
 &= 7.16
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level
of significance = 9.21

Calculated value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1%
level of significance = 7.16 (Insignificant)

* See Question No.2, Part II Questionnaire, Appendix- I

APPENDIX - V.3

H₀:- The economic status of a student's family is not a contributing factor to the student unrest.

Economic status of family	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Up to Rs.500p.m.	14 (19.80)	24 (18.19)	38
Rs.600 to Rs.1500 p.m.	32 (29.18)	24 (26.81)	56
Rs. 1500 plus	28 (25.01)	20 (22.98)	48
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O-E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \left(\frac{14-19.80}{19.80} \right)^2 + \left(\frac{24-18.19}{18.19} \right)^2 + \left(\frac{32-29.18}{29.18} \right)^2 \\
 &\quad + \left(\frac{24-26.81}{26.81} \right)^2 + \left(\frac{28-25.01}{25.01} \right)^2 + \left(\frac{20-22.98}{22.98} \right)^2 \\
 &= 4.86
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level

of significance = 9.21

Calculated value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1%

level of significance = 4.86 (Insignificant)

* See question No. 15, Part I, Questionnaire, Appendix - I

APPENDIX - V.4

H₀. - The fulfilment of a student's aspirations by his present education does not effect his restive behaviour.*

Fulfilment of ambition by education	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	52 (61.49)	66 (56.50)	118
No	22 (12.50)	2 (11.49)	24
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected value)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(52-61.49)^2}{61.49} + \frac{(66-56.50)^2}{56.50} + \frac{(22-12.50)^2}{12.50} + \frac{(2-11.49)^2}{11.49} \\
 &= 18.12
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 18.12 (Highly significant)

* See Question No.3, Part II Questionnaire, Appendix I

APPENDIX - V. 5a

Ho.- A students' restive or nonrestive behaviour is independent of the fact that he is a Muslim or not.

Religious identity	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Muslims	71 (65.66)	55 (60.33)	126
Non-Muslims	3 (8. 33)	13 (7. 66)	16
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned} \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O-E)^2}{E} \right] \\ &= \left(\frac{71-65.66}{65.66} \right)^2 + \left(\frac{55-60.33}{60.33} \right)^2 + \left(\frac{3-8.33}{8.33} \right)^2 + \left(\frac{13-7.66}{7.66} \right)^2 \\ &= 8.03 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 8.03 (Significant)

* See Question No. 7, Part 1, Questionnaire, Appendix I

APPENDIX - V.5b

Ho.- A students' restive or nonrestive behaviour is independent of the fact whether he is from a Hindi speaking region or not.

Linguistic identity	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Hindi speaking region	72 (66.70)	56 (61.29)	128
Non Hindi Speaking region	2 (7.29)	12 (6.70)	14
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned} \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\left(\frac{O - E}{E} \right)^2 \right] \\ &= \frac{(72 - 66.70)^2}{66.70} + \frac{(56 - 61.29)^2}{61.29} + \frac{(2 - 7.29)^2}{7.29} + \frac{(12 - 6.70)^2}{6.70} \\ &= 8.90 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 8.90 (Significant)

* See Question No.9, Part I, Questionnaire, Appendix I

APPENDIX - V.6

No.- Regular observance of religious duties and practices by students, do not effect their agitational behaviour.

Religious observance	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	8 (13.80)	30 (18.19)	38
Can't say	54 (45.85)	34 (42.14)	88
No	12 (8.33)	4 (7.66)	16
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\left(\frac{O - E}{E} \right)^2 \right] \\
 &= \frac{(8 - 13.80)^2}{13.80} + \frac{(30 - 18.19)^2}{18.19} + \frac{(54 - 45.85)^2}{45.85} \\
 &+ \frac{(34 - 42.14)^2}{42.14} + \frac{(12 - 8.33)^2}{8.33} + \frac{(4 - 7.66)^2}{7.66} \\
 &= 21.08
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 9.21

Calculated value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 21.08 (Significant)

* See Question No. 4, Part II, Questionnaire, Appendix-I

APPENDIX-V.7

H0.- Students coming from homes with a strict religious atmosphere do not get involved in agitations.

Strict religious atmosphere in homes	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	52 (40.64)	26 (37.35)	78
No	22 (33.35)	42 (30.64)	64
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\left(\frac{O - E}{E} \right)^2 \right] \\
 &= \frac{(52-40.64)^2}{40.64} + \frac{(26-37.35)^2}{37.35} + \frac{(22-33.35)^2}{33.35} + \frac{(42-30.64)^2}{30.64} \\
 &= 14.69
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 6.64

calculated value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 14.69 (Significant)

* See Question No. 5, Part II, Questionnaire, Appendix-I

APPENDIX -V.8

H₀. - Whether a student comes from a single family or not has no effect in student unrest.*

Household structure	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Single family	26 (32.30)	36 (29.69)	62
Joint family and Extended family	48 (41.6)	32 (38.30)	80
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\left(\frac{O - E}{E} \right)^2 \right] \\
 &= \frac{(26-32.30)^2}{32.30} + \frac{(36-29.69)^2}{29.69} + \frac{(48-41.69)^2}{41.69} + \frac{(32-38.30)^2}{38.30} \\
 &= 4.56
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 4.56 (Insignificant)

* See Question No.12, Part I, Questionnaire, Appendix-I

APPENDIX -V.9

Ho.- Participation in family decision making by student does not effect students' unrest.*

Participation in family decisions	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	22 (30.22)	36 (27.77)	58
No	52 (43.77)	32 (40.22)	84
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(22-30.22)^2}{30.22} + \frac{(36-27.77)^2}{27.77} + \frac{(52-43.77)^2}{43.77} + \frac{(32-40.22)^2}{40.22} \\
 &= 7.90
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of Significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 7.90(Significant)

* See Question No.7 ,Part II, Questionnaire, Appendix -I

APPENDIX-V.10

H₀.- Conflicts with parents do not contribute to students' restive behaviour

Conflict with parents	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	14 (8.33)	2 (7.66)	16
No	60 (65.66)	66 (60.33)	126
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(14-8.33)^2}{8.33} + \frac{(2-7.66)^2}{7.66} + \frac{(60-65.66)^2}{65.66} + \frac{(66-60.33)^2}{60.33} \\
 &= 9.06
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 9.06 (Significant)

* See Question No. 9, Part II, Questionnaire, Appendix-I

APPENDIX - V.11

Ho.- Docile behaviour in the family does not take an
aggressive form in the institutional setting.

Docile beha- viour at home	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	38 (45.85)	50 (42.14)	88
No	36 (28.14)	18 (25.85)	54
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\left(\frac{O - E}{E} \right)^2 \right] \\
 &= \frac{(38-45.85)^2}{45.85} + \frac{(50-42.14)^2}{42.14} + \frac{(36-28.14)^2}{28.14} + \frac{(18-25.85)^2}{25.85} \\
 &= 7.38
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level

of significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1%

level of significance = 7.38 (Significant)

* See Question No.9, Part II, Questionnaire, Appendix-I

APPENDIX-V.12a

Ho.- Parents' education is not ^{factor} contributing, to student unrest.
(Father's education) *

Father's education	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Illiterate	8 (4.16)	0 (3.83)	8
Educated upto High School	42 (31.26)	18 (28.73)	60
University education	24 (38.56)	50 (35.43)	74
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(8-4.16)^2}{4.16} + \frac{(0-3.83)^2}{3.83} + \frac{(42-31.26)^2}{31.26} \\
 &\quad + \frac{(18-28.73)^2}{28.73} + \frac{(24-38.56)^2}{38.56} + \frac{(50-35.43)^2}{35.43} \\
 &= 26.56
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of
significance = 9.21

Calculated value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1%
level of significance = 26.56 (Highly sig-
nificant)

* See Question No. 13, Part I, Questionnaire, Appendix-I

APPENDIX-V.12b

H₀.- Parents education is not a factor contributing to student unrest (Mother's education)

Mother's education	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Illiterate	26 (17.71)	8 (16.28)	34
Literate	44 (39.60)	32 (36.39)	76
University education	4 (16.67)	28 (15. 32)	32
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parenthesis are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O-E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(26-17.71)^2}{17.71} + \frac{(8-16.28)^2}{16.28} + \frac{(44-39.60)^2}{39.60} \\
 &\quad + \frac{(32-36.39)^2}{36.39} + \frac{(4-16.67)^2}{16.67} + \frac{(28-15.32)^2}{15.32} \\
 &= 29.23
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance

= 9.21

Calculated value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance

=29.23 Highly significant)

* See Question No.14, Part I, Questionnaire, Appendix- I

APPENDIX -V.13

Ho.- A student's rural background is not a factor in student unrest.

Rural background	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Rural	26 (18.76)	10 (17.23)	36
Urban	48 (55.23)	58 (50.76)	106
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(26-18.76)^2}{18.76} + \frac{(10-17.23)^2}{17.23} + \frac{(48-55.23)^2}{55.23} + \frac{(58-50.76)^2}{50.76} \\
 &= 7.80
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 7.80 (Significant)

* See Question No. 10, Part 1, Questionnaire, Appendix, I

APPENDIX-V.14

No.- The distance between students and teachers as perceived by students lead to discontent and unrest.^{*}

Report between students and teachers	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	22 (26.05)	28 (23.94)	50
Can't say	44 (39.60)	32 (36.39)	76
No	8 (8.33)	8 (7.66)	16
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O-E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(22-26.05)^2}{26.05} + \frac{(28-23.94)^2}{23.94} + \frac{(44-39.60)^2}{39.60} \\
 &+ \frac{(32-36.39)^2}{36.39} + \frac{(8-8.33)^2}{8.33} + \frac{(8-7.66)^2}{7.66} \\
 &= 2.36
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1 % level of significance = 9.21

Calculated value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 2.36 (Insignificant)

* See Question No.10, Part II, Questionnaire, Appendix-I

APPENDIX-V.15

Ho.- The current academic evaluations including examinations are factors not effecting student unrest.*

Academic evaluations	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	20 (28.66)	35 (26.33)	55
No	54 (45.33)	33 (41.66)	87
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(20-28.66)^2}{28.66} + \frac{(35-26.33)^2}{26.33} + \frac{(54-45.33)^2}{45.33} + \frac{(33-41.66)^2}{41.66} \\
 &= 8.93
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1%

level of significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1 %

level of significance = 8.93 (significant)

* See Question No.19, Part II, Questionnaire-Appendix-I

APPENDIX - V.16

H₀.- Total internal assessment of examinations would not contribute to student activism.*

Total Internal assessment	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	4 (3.12)	2 (2.87)	6
Can't say	54 (45.85)	34 (42.14)	88
No	16 (25.01)	32 (22.98)	48
Total	74	68	142

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(4-3.12)^2}{3.12} + \frac{(2-2.87)^2}{2.87} + \frac{(54-45.85)^2}{45.85} \\
 &\quad + \frac{(34-42.14)^2}{42.14} + \frac{(16-25.01)^2}{25.01} + \frac{(32-22.98)^2}{22.98} \\
 &= 10.31
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 9.21

Calculated value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 10.31 (significant)

* See Question No.20, Part II, Questionnaire, Appendix-I

(Note: The figures in parentheses, in above tabulation, are the expected values)

APPENDIX -V.17

H₀.- Semester system is not one of the factors for unrest among the students*

Semester System	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	20 (25.01)	28 (22.98)	48
Can't say	50 (43.77)	34 (40.22)	84
No	4 (5.21)	6 (4.78)	10
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(20-25.01)^2}{25.01} + \frac{(28-22.98)^2}{22.98} + \frac{(50-43.77)^2}{43.77} \\
 &\quad + \frac{(34-40.22)^2}{40.22} + \frac{(4-5.21)^2}{5.21} + \frac{(6-4.78)^2}{4.78} \\
 &= 4.54
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 9.21

Calculated value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 4.54 (Insignificant)

* See Question No.18, Part II, Questionnaire, Appendix-I

APPENDIX -V. 18

Ho.- Satisfaction with hostel life is not a factor in a student's restive behaviour.*

Satisfaction with hostel life	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	54 (41.14)	18 (30.85)	72
No	18 (30.85)	36 (23.14)	54
Total	72	54	126

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(54-41.14)^2}{41.14} + \frac{(18-30.85)^2}{30.85} + \frac{(18-30.85)^2}{30.85} + \frac{(36-23.14)^2}{23.14} \\
 &= 21.87
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significant = 9.21

Calcutta value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 21.87 (Highly significant)

* See Question No. 14, Part II, Questionnaire, Appendix -I
 (Note: The figures in parentheses in above tabulation are the expected values)

APPENDIX - V.19

No.- Satisfaction with hostel amenities is not a factor in student activism.

Satisfaction with hostel amenities	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	10 (8.0)	4 (6.0)	14
Can't say	24 (28.57)	26 (21.42)	50
No	38 (35.42)	24 (26.57)	62
Total	72	54	126

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\left(\frac{O - E}{E} \right)^2 \right] \\
 &= \frac{(10 - 8)^2}{8} + \frac{(4 - 6)^2}{6} + \frac{(24 - 28.57)^2}{28.57} \\
 &\quad + \frac{(26 - 21.42)^2}{21.42} + \frac{(38 - 35.42)^2}{35.42} + \frac{(24 - 26.57)^2}{26.57} \\
 &= 3.31
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 9.21

Calculated value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 3.31 (Insignificant)

• See Question No.15, Part, Questionnaire, Appendix-1

APPENDIX - V.20

No.- Authoritarian attitude of Hall and university administration is not a factor in student unrest.*

Authoritarian attitude of administration	Restive	Non-restive	Total
Yes	32 (36.47)	38 (33.52)	70
No	42 (37.52)	30 (34.47)	72
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(32-36.47)^2}{36.47} + \frac{(38-33.52)^2}{33.52} + \frac{(42-37.52)^2}{37.52} + \frac{(30-34.47)^2}{34.47} \\
 &= 2.26
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level

of significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1%

level of significance = 2.26 (Insignificant)

* See Question No. 16, Part II, Questionnaire, Appendix-I

APPENDIX - V.21

H₀.- Regular study habits do not effect students activism*

Regular study habits	Restive	Non-restive	Total
Yes	20 (32.30)	42 (29.69)	62
No	54 (41.69)	26 (38.30)	80
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\left(\frac{O - E}{E} \right)^2 \right] \\
 &= \frac{(20-32.30)^2}{32.30} + \frac{(42-29.69)^2}{29.69} + \frac{(54-41.69)^2}{41.69} + \frac{(26-38.30)^2}{38.30} \\
 &= 17.37
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level

of significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1%

level of significance

=17.37 (Highly significant)

* See Question No.17, Part II, Questionnaire, Appendix-I

APPENDIX -V. 22

Ho.- Discipline (Sciences and nonsciences) is not a factor in student unrest*

Discipline	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Science	22 (20.84)	18 (19.15)	40
Nonscience	52 (53.15)	50 (48.84)	102
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(22-20.84)^2}{20.84} + \frac{(18-19.15)^2}{19.15} + \frac{(52-53.15)^2}{53.15} + \frac{(50-48.84)^2}{48.84} \\
 &= 0.18
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 with 1 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 0.18 (Insignificant)

* See Question No. 4, Part 1, Questionnaire, Appendix-I

APPENDIX -V.22

No.- Adolescence: does not effect student activism*.

Adolescence	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Below 18 years	0 (3.12)	6 (2.87)	6
18 to 21 years	42 (48.98)	52 (45.01)	94
21 and above	32 (21.83)	10 (20.11)	42
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\left(\frac{O - E}{E} \right)^2 \right] \\
 &= \frac{(0-3.12)^2}{3.12} + \frac{(6-2.87)^2}{2.87} + \frac{(42-48.98)^2}{48.98} \\
 &\quad + \frac{(52-45.01)^2}{45.01} + \frac{(32-21.83)^2}{21.83} + \frac{(10-20.11)^2}{20.11} \\
 &= 18.37
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level
of significance = 9.21

Calculated value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and
1% level of significance = 18.37 (Highly sig-
nificant)

* See Question No.1, Part I, Questionnaire, Appendix- I

APPENDIX -V.24

H₀. - Student with average duration of stay in universities are not prone to participate in agitations.*

Stay at university	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
1 to 2 years	20 (33.35)	44 (30.64)	64
3 to 5 years	40 (28.14)	14 (25.85)	54
6 years and above	14 (12.50)	10 (11.49)	24
Total	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \right] \\
 &= \frac{(20 - 33.35)^2}{33.35} + \frac{(44 - 30.64)^2}{30.64} + \frac{(40 - 28.14)^2}{28.14} \\
 &\quad + \frac{(14 - 25.85)^2}{25.85} + \frac{(14 - 12.50)^2}{12.50} + \frac{(10 - 11.49)^2}{11.49} \\
 &= 21.97
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level of significance = 9.21

Calculated value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1%

level of significance = 21.97 (significant)

* See Question No.5, Part I, Questionnaire, Appendix-I

APPENDIX - V. 25

H₀:- Student participation in the university affairs
is not a factor in student activism.*

Participation in adminis- tration	Restive	Nonrestive	Total
Yes	52 (42.73)	30 (39.26)	82
No	22 (31.26)	38 (28.73)	60
TOTAL	74	68	142

(Note: The figures in parentheses are the expected values)

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= \sum \left[\left(\frac{O - E}{E} \right)^2 \right] \\
 &= \frac{(52-42.73)^2}{42.73} + \frac{(30-39.26)^2}{39.26} + \frac{(22-31.26)^2}{31.26} + \frac{(38-28.73)^2}{28.73} \\
 &= 9.92
 \end{aligned}$$

Table value of χ^2 with 2 d.f. and 1% level
of significance = 6.64

Calculated value of χ^2 d.f. and 1% level
of significance = 9.92 (Significant)

* See Question No. 21, Part II, Questionnaire, Appendix- I

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